



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

B- 4873.17.5

Harvard College Library



FROM THE BEQUEST OF

JOHN HARVEY TREAT

OF LAWRENCE, MASS.

(Class of 1862)

ea Old Church
Hall Davies, F. S. A.
face by Herbert R. Horne

Chelsea Old Church

*Three Hundred and Twenty Copies printed
for sale on hand-made paper*

This is No. 114...



W. Walker & Co. sculp. ph. sc.

*Chelsea Old Church in 1788
from the east showing the Arch House.*

*From a watercolour drawing by J. Malton
in the Chelsea Public Library.*

Chelsea Old Church

By
Randall Davies, F.S.A.

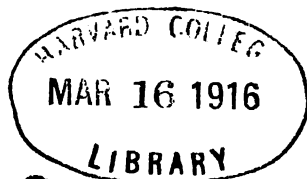
With a Preface by
Herbert P. Horne



London
Duckworth and Co.
3 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden
1904

Bz 4873.17.5

~~Bz 4783.8~~



Treat fund

Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
At the Ballantyne Press

**TO
MY FATHER
NOW FOR FORTY-EIGHT YEARS
INCUMBENT OF CHELSEA
OLD CHURCH**

AUTHOR'S NOTE

WITH the exception of a pamphlet printed in Chelsea in 1895, no monograph on the Old Church has yet been published. In the following pages, therefore, I have attempted such an account as may be both of interest to the general reader and of service to the antiquary: and although I have omitted a great deal of interesting matter, as being beyond the compass of a readable book, I have spared no pains in verifying, as far as possible, whatever information is here printed.

Many notices of the Church and its monuments have, however, appeared in topographical works, from which I have taken as much as seemed necessary for my purpose. The first of these books is "Ancient Funeral Monuments," by John Weever, published in 1631. Only the tombs of the Brays and Sir Thomas More are mentioned by Weever; though in his manuscript, which is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, the inscriptions of Thomas Lawrence, the Duchess of Northumberland, and Lady Dacre are included.

The next account is that of John Bowack, contained in the "Antiquities of Middlesex," published in 1705. Bowack resided in Chelsea, and his notes, so far as they go, are of considerable value. But it was not until 1795 that anything like a complete account of the Church was published, namely, in Lysons' "Environs." Brief as this is, it is unquestionably the most valuable, every word of it being carefully authenticated.

Thomas Faulkner drew largely from Lysons in his "History of Chelsea," published in 1810, amplified in a second edition in 1829;

and added much valuable matter, derived both from local knowledge and from records now lost. And although Faulkner had but little of Lysons' ability, especially in regard to accuracy, his book is still the standard history of the Parish.

The local records which I have used are as follows :

1. "The Parish Registers."—These date from 1559. A gap occurs from 1556 to 1592 in the burials, and from 1644 to 1649 in the baptisms. Except during the Commonwealth, when there are very few entries, they appear to have been very carefully kept. They are now in the vestry of St. Luke's Church.

I have noticed as many entries as possible in the present volume, but so great was the increase in the population of Chelsea at the beginning of the eighteenth century, that I have not attempted to mention more than a very few after, say, 1720.

2. "Dr. King's MS."—This is a small quarto book, compiled from time to time by the Rev. John King, who was Rector of Chelsea from 1694 to 1732. It contains a good deal of careful detail concerning the Rectory and parochial matters. It was discovered in the Rectory by the Rev. A. G. Blunt, the late Rector, and by him deposited in the Chelsea Public Library.

3. "The Parish Books."—Faulkner prints several extracts from books amongst "Earl Cadogan's records," which are now lost. All the quotations under this head are on his authority.

4. "The Vestry Minutes."—These are preserved at the Town Hall. They date from 1701, the older volumes being lost. A volume of "Church Committee Minutes" is also in the Muniment Room at St. Luke's Church.

5. "The Sexton's Book."—Two small MS. volumes are preserved in the Muniment Room at St. Luke's. The entries date from February 1756 to December 1759, and from 1771 to the end of 1780, and are useful in showing who were buried in the churchyard and who in the new burial-ground during those periods.

6. "The Middlesex Land Registry."—My thanks are due to Mr. J. E. Ansell for the facilities I have enjoyed in searching these interesting, but apparently neglected records of land transfers from

AUTHOR'S NOTE

ix

1709 onwards. I have not yet carried my search further than the year 1755, but, so far as the present volume is concerned, it is the earlier entries that are the most valuable.

Amongst the numerous persons who have assisted me to complete this book I must especially thank Mr. Herbert P. Horne for his continuous help and advice during the past seven years. I am also most gratefully indebted to the late Marquis of Salisbury, the Earl of Ellesmere, Sir Edmund and Lady Verney, the late Rector, Mr. Edmund Gardner, and the Rev. R. Gwynne Lawrence for the ample liberty they have afforded me in perusing and making use of documents in their possession.

R. D.

PREFACE

THE old church of St. Luke at Chelsea is one of the few remaining buildings of a kind that was once common in the environs of London and Westminster, and in those portions of the City which escaped the Great Fire. These parish churches, for the most part of a mediæval origin, had in the course of successive centuries been so patched, changed, enlarged and otherwise "repaired and beautified," according to the necessities of their parishioners, and the tastes or parsimony of their churchwardens, that if, in the event, they often retained little of their Gothic structure, and less of its character, they acquired in the course of years a certain odd picturesqueness, which only the caprices of Time and Chance could have contrived in them. Such plates as those in Strype's edition of Stowe, or Robert West's volume of "Perspective Views of all the Ancient Churches," &c., "within the Bills of Mortality," published in 1736, show how considerable a number of such buildings were in existence at the beginning of the eighteenth century: but with the rapid increase of the population, and the awakening of the religious spirit, which marked the latter part of the century, they were destined to make way for modern and more commodious buildings. Their destruction was gradual; and it is in the memory of most of us, when Chelsea was still one of several river-side churches above Westminster. Putney, it is true, had been rebuilt, with the exception of its tower, in the earlier part of the last century; and Chelsea only escaped the same fate when the new parish church was erected in 1820, because the site of the old one was not sufficiently ample for the purpose in hand: but Fulham, Hammersmith, and Chiswick have all been rebuilt within the last quarter of a century. In

our enthusiasm for imitations of the Gothic we have overlooked the charm, and even beauty, which these odd accumulations of the ages assuredly possessed. No one who can remember old Fulham Church, with its rambling galleries within and its long roofs without, pleasantly set in its green churchyard, amid the tombs of the bishops, can doubt that the parish made away with a unique record of its history for a building that would have appeared more in place on a modern site.

However, Chelsea Church fortunately remains to us, as picturesque of aspect as any of those which have disappeared, and, outwardly at least, of a more uniform structure than most of them ; although the fourteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have successively contributed to its fabric. But in its monuments, as in its history, Chelsea holds a place apart. There is scarcely another parish within the environs of London which can boast of so long a roll of illustrious or memorable inhabitants ; certainly no other suburban church which contains so many remarkable and various memorials of its parishioners. From the earlier part of the sixteenth century to the time when the building ceased to be the parish church, there remains an almost unbroken series of monuments. Indeed, it might be possible to illustrate, by means of the tombs at Chelsea, the fashions and changes which architectural taste underwent in England for more than three centuries. But admirable and historic as are not a few of these monuments, the charm and interest of the church as a whole are even more impressive and singular than the most venerable of its monuments, the most august of its associations. If Chelsea possessed some extraordinary beauty of architecture, some masterpiece of sculpture or painting, we might not feel within its walls, to a degree which we do not in many a famous and more imposing building, the fascination and significance of the mere record and reposition of Time—of memorial piled upon memorial, never quite incongruously, though always with a certain element of chance in the form and manner : each generation continuing the chronicle, as it were, in its own fashion, and in its own handwriting. As it is, everything in the church still keeps its authentic accent and colour : Time has wrought and left it just as we see it to-day. Had the remains of its Gothic fabric been considerable

enough for the "restorer" to try his hand upon, it might have fared with Chelsea as it has with nearly all the London churches which have come down to us from mediæval times. We have at last, perhaps, come to disapprove that more primitive form of "restoration" which removed from the Temple Church its fine series of monuments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as things unworthy of the building; and which reduced the fabric itself, in great part at least, to a frigid reproduction of what its restorers believed it originally to have been: but we still regard that dubious art with complacency when, as at St. Bartholomew's the Great, in Smithfield, it seeks to obliterate, as far as possible, all traces of the vicissitudes of the building since the Reformation; or when, as at St. Olave's, Hart Street, it sweeps away the furniture of the church as Pepys has known it, in order to substitute tasteless modern fittings which are supposed to recall the original character of the edifice. To do that in a building whose historic associations far outweigh its value as a piece of architecture, is to rob it of the most precious qualities which Time has lent to it. The continuity of its history is destroyed; and the spell which holds us fascinated at Chelsea is broken.

I have ventured to dwell upon this aspect of Chelsea Church, because it is the one which is most apt to be overlooked. If few parishes can boast of annals such as Chelsea, fewer churches form so complete and various a monument of their parochial history as old St. Luke's. Of this, the following pages are a sufficient proof. May the good fortune of the church in the past still be with it in the future! In a sense, its history was brought to a close when it ceased to be the parish church. The future can have little to add to that history in comparison to the times which are gone; but it can preserve, or neglect, or obliterate, according to the spirit that moves it.

For the rest, this book, whatever may be its value, has been undertaken in no light or hasty mood. This I may truly assert, from my own small share in it. At Chelsea, its writer and myself first learnt to spell together, as boys, the elements of antiquarian lore. How far into the past this first small incursion has led us to wander—into what regions of art and letters—this is not the place to recount, were it

worth the telling. But we have always returned to Chelsea, our "alma mater," with gratitude and with devotion : and I think I may say of my friend, as I can certainly of myself, that to have searched the recesses of her history, and to have gathered together these memorials of her, has been in itself its own sufficient reward.

HERBERT P. HORNE.

FLORENCE, *27th October*, 1903.

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. THE CHURCH	1
II. CHURCH GOODS AND FURNITURE	15
III. THE VILLAGE OF CHELSEA	36
IV. THE MANOR HOUSE	44
V. SIR THOMAS MORE	85
VI. BEAUFORT HOUSE	106
VII. GORGES HOUSE	119
VIII. DANVERS HOUSE	136
IX. LINDSEY HOUSE	153
X. THE LAWRENCES	160
XI. THE PARSONAGE	183
XII. LITTLE CHELSEA	198
XIII. VARIOUS MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCH	219
XIV. MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCHYARD	254
XV. NOTES ON THE PARISH REGISTERS	271
APPENDIX A	299
APPENDIX B	302
APPENDIX C	305
INDEX OF NAMES	309

LIST OF PLATES

✓ <i>View of the Church from the East</i>	<i>Frontispiece</i>	
✓ <i>Capital of the Eastern Respond in the More Chapel</i>	<i>Facing page</i>	7
✓ <i>Capital of the Western Respond in the More Chapel</i>	„	8
✓ <i>Ground Plan of the Church</i>	„	11
✓ <i>Interior of the Church, 1845</i>	„	14
✓ <i>Interior of the Church, c. 1825</i>	„	31
✓ <i>Faulkner's Print of Dr. King's Map</i>	„	38
✓ <i>View of Chelsea, c. 1770</i>	„	42
✓ <i>Monument of Lady Jane Cheyne</i>	„	58
✓ <i>Holbein's Drawing of the More Family</i>	„	87
✓ <i>The Chancel, c. 1833, showing More's Monument</i>	„	96
✓ <i>Monument of Lord and Lady Dacre</i>	„	108
✓ <i>Plan of Chelsea House, c. 1595</i>	„	113
✓ <i>Knyff's View of Beaufort House</i>	„	116
✓ <i>Brass of Sir Arthur Gorges</i>	„	120
✓ <i>Monument of Sir Robert Stanley</i>	„	129
✓ <i>Monuments of Richard Gervoise and others</i>	„	220
✓ <i>Monuments in the Chancel</i>	„	226

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH

By a statute of the year 1819, being "An Act for building a new Church in the Parish of Saint Luke Chelsea in the County of Middlesex and for other purposes relating thereto" (59 Geo. III. cap. 35), it is enacted, amongst other things, that "from and after the said new Church shall be completed and consecrated as aforesaid the present Parish Church shall from thenceforth and for ever thereafter be called and known by the name of, and to all intents and purposes be, 'the Parish Chapel of the Parish of Saint Luke Chelsea'" (Sec. 32.) This enactment notwithstanding, the Church is now called and known by no other name than that of "The Old Church;" merely, it is probable, to distinguish it from the new one; but, as it happens, more suitably than was supposed.

Although little, if any, of the present building dates from before the fourteenth century, there are records of it at the close of the thirteenth, and a strong presumption that it was founded before the middle of the twelfth; for the Abbey of Westminster, who claimed the manor of Chelsea by virtue of a charter from Edward the Confessor, and granted it at a fee farm rent to Dameta in the time of Stephen, were still possessed of the advowson as late as 1536, when they sold it to the King. (Dart, Vol. 1, p. 20, and chap. iv., *infra*.)

The first actual mention of the Church occurs in a Papal letter of the year 1290, in which relaxation is granted to penitents who should visit the Church of "Thelchurche" in the diocese of London on the feast of All Saints, to whom it was dedicated; and in the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., which was completed at about the

same date, this Church is assessed at £8 13s. 4d. Another Papal letter, in 1299, mentions Master Reginald de St. Albans as enjoying the Church of "Chelchuthe," in the diocese of London, amongst others.

That the Church was originally dedicated to All Saints, as above mentioned, there seems to be no doubt, as appears from several early documents. In the will of Margery Lynde, dated 1484, it is called the Church of All Hallows, and it is referred to as All Saints in a certificate* by the Bishop of London in 1531. During the eighteenth century, however, and until the above-mentioned Act was passed, the Church was called "St. Luke's," a title retained by the parish to the present day.

It might be conjectured that the Church was re-dedicated to St. Luke in 1670, when the western portion of it was rebuilt; for on this occasion Dr. Baldwin Hamsey, besides contributing very liberally to the general expenses, gave the tenor bell of a new peal, which was inscribed as being given by Hamsey to St. Luke, while a wooden image of the Evangelist was placed upon the canopy of the new pulpit. But, remarkable as it may seem, there is reason to believe that no such dedication was ever made; for I find in a manuscript life of Hamsey, written by Ralph Palmer, his grand-nephew, which is preserved at the College of Physicians, that Dr. Littleton (who was then Rector of Chelsea), "either with a pious kind of fraud, suggested to Dr. Hamsey that this Church was dedicated to St. Luke (which it was most probable was a thing utterly unknown), or at least he never discovered upon that occasion where his authority was for

* This certificate is of peculiar interest in view of Sir Thomas More's connection with Chelsea. It is thus noted in the Calendar of State Papers (Dom. 1531, No. 424), "Certificate by John Bishop of London of the production on the 12th September, 1531, in the choir of the Parish Church of All Saints, Chelsea, by John Olyver, LL.D., (1) of the King's Commission to him to act as his proctor, and (2) of the unanimous opinion of the Faculty of Law at Paris dated 19th August, 1531, on the two questions: 1st, Whether the King of England was bound to appear at Rome when cited; and 2ndly, whether a subject of the King at Rome not having a mandate should be admitted on the day of citation to plead excusable exception. Both of which they answer in the King's favour."

it, which he should have done if he had any real authority from antiquity."

In the will of Margery Lynde we have an interesting glimpse of the Church before the Reformation. She bequeaths "to the high Auter 3^d and 3^d Also to every Auter in the same Church 4^d also to the Rodelyght 12^d; Also to the same Church 2 torches" . . . "Also I will to have for my husband for me for Anne our daughter and for our friends soules doom in the said Church yearly an obite during 20 yeaes at which obites to have 3 priestes to syng by note both dirige and masse and then to be given and spent 6^d every yere during the yeres above said. Also I will that the Light afore our Lady the pyte [pity] 3^d during the yeres above said Also to the lamp lyght yerely 8^d."

No visible part of the present building can be ascribed to so early a date as the twelfth or thirteenth century. The whole of the western portion of the Church was demolished in the year 1670, and replaced by the present rectangular nave, or, strictly speaking, body of the Church, and western tower, of red brick; the chancel, and the north and south chapel on either side of it, being the only relics of the older building.

On the south side of the chancel, opening into the More Chapel, is an equilateral pointed drop arch of two large chamfered members, resting on semi-octagonal responds. It is built of hard clunch, and is evidently of fourteenth-century workmanship. The capitals of the responds, described at length in the sequel, were recarved in 1528, apparently when the chapel was rebuilt. A recess in the easternmost part of the south wall of the chancel, facing the altar, contains the remains of a piscina below, and a groove for a shelf above, to serve for a credence. Another, in the east wall, on the north of the altar, appears to have been used as an aumbrey. Both have simple arched and chamfered openings, with four-centred heads, and their character leads to the conjecture that the chancel was restored during the latter part of the fifteenth century. This is further borne out by what remains of the east window, the present head and mullions of which are modern, but the splays original, extending some eighteen inches

or more above the spring of the present head, their termination being hidden by the plaster ceiling. Now the proportions of these splays are such that even if we suppose this window to have been a late four-centred perpendicular window, the chancel roof must have been at least a couple of feet higher than the existing roof. A fourteenth-century window of this same width would point to a far loftier chancel than the present building. It would seem then that the walls of the chancel were lowered and covered with the present roof and plaster ceiling in 1670, in order to avoid the awkward junction of the old chancel roof with that of the new body of the Church.

The level of the altar-pace and the two steps leading to it probably preserve the arrangement of the mediæval pavement. The square-headed Tudor window of two lights, and the doorway, in the south wall of the upper chancel, are shown in a drawing in the collection of Mr. Edmund Gardner which seems to date from about 1835.

The chapel on the north side of the chancel, called the Lawrence Chapel, appears from its architecture to have been built in the earlier part of the fourteenth century. On the north side are three pointed windows, divided from one another by buttresses, which, becoming much decayed, have been encased with slabs of York stone. The labels of the windows, terminating in grotesque corbel heads, have been entirely renewed in cement, probably during the early part of the nineteenth century.

The tracery of the easternmost of the three windows, which in the seventeenth century was blocked up to furnish a place for the monument of Thomas Lawrence, has also been restored in cement; this tracery is much earlier in character than the other details of this part of the building, and probably is not a reproduction of the original. The cill and tracery of the second, or middle, window have been entirely removed to give place to a small circular-headed brick doorway, which is mentioned as early as 1621. The third, or westernmost, of the three windows remains more or less in its original condition, and together with a niche recently discovered in the eastern wall of the chapel, affords the most important clue to the date of this part of the Church. During the restoration of 1857 some fragments

of stained glass were found bricked up in one of these windows, dating apparently from the fifteenth century. They were given by Mr. Burnell, the architect, to the Chelsea Public Library, where they are now preserved.

This north chapel appears to have been built for the use of the old Manor House, which stood close to the Church towards the north. In a deed dated 1876 it is described as "the Lord's Chapel (otherwise the Lawrence Chapel)," taking its later title from the family of Lawrence, who purchased this Manor House about the year 1590, and who appear from several authentic sources to have acquired an estate in the chapel as well as in the house. The chapel was, in fact, a separate freehold ; and on the death of Sir Thomas Lawrence in 1714 passed as such to his only daughter, who was married to Crew Offley. Their son John Offley, in turn, devised it to his kinsman, Colonel the Hon. Francis Needham. By Colonel Needham it was sold to Mr. Henry Lewer, from whose representative it was purchased in 1894 by Mr. Davies, the incumbent, for the price of £250, and made over to the Church Trustees.

The chapel on the south side of the chancel is called the More Chapel, and according to tradition owes its origin to Sir Thomas More ; but, as the archway dividing it from the chancel is of a much earlier character, it is to be concluded that the chapel was not founded, but rebuilt by More. Like the Lawrence Chapel, it is a separate freehold ; and its descent as an hereditament can be traced with tolerable certainty from More down to the present time. On More's death his property was seized by the King ; and Sir William Pawlet, afterwards Marquis of Winchester, was granted the custody of his house, and, later, the fee in all More's property in Chelsea. From the second Marquis of Winchester it passed to his step-daughter, who was married to Gregory Lord Dacre. Lady Dacre devised it to Lord Burleigh, with remainder to his son, Sir Robert Cecil, who sold it to Henry Clinton Earl of Lincoln. Sir Arthur Gorges married the Earl of Lincoln's daughter, and by this means (it seems) acquired the house, and with it the chapel. Dr. King, rector of Chelsea, writing in 1717, states that "Sir Arthur Gorges sold the

house but reserved the chancel [*scil.* chapel] to a less house near it, to which it belongs still, and it is in the heirs of the late Sir William Milman." It is called "Milman's Chapel" in the Sexton's Book in 1758 and 1771. From the Milman family, says Faulkner, it was purchased by a Mr. Flight. The existing title-deeds begin with a conveyance of the chapel by Banister, Thomas, and Joseph Flight, sons of Thomas Flight of Hackney, to Richard Mann of Chelsea, builder, dated 2 January 1827. In 1855 Mr. Mann's son conveyed the premises to Thomas Francis Crew, of 38 Essex Street, Strand, gentleman, and in 1874 Mr. Davies, the present incumbent, purchased the chapel from Mr. Crew's mortgagee before it came into the market, and handed it over to the Church Trustees.*

There is other evidence too, apart from the title, that this chapel was rebuilt by More. The earliest that I can find occurs in the Inventory of Church Goods taken in 1549, where it is called "The Lady More's Chapel." Stapylton, in his "Tres Thomae," published in 1588, writes thus of More :

" . . . in ecclesia sua parochiali in villa Chelsey sacellum construxit et rebus omnibus ad Dei cultum necessariis vel alioqui ad ornatum et decorem domus Dei pertinentibus copiose instruxit. Erat quippe in hoc genere pietatis valde liberalis multaue vasa aurea et argentea ecclesiae suae contulit, dicere solitus, Boni dant, mali auferunt."

Dr. King too, in the letter quoted above, mentions Sir Thomas More's coat of arms being in the east window of the chapel. This no longer exists, and in the margin of the letter is written in another hand, "Taken away by the glazier when the window was repaired 172- (*sic*) clerk for Ch. W."

The most interesting evidence, however, and perhaps the most conclusive, is to be found in the chapel itself, namely, the capitals of

* It is perhaps worth pointing out that in the year 1536 both these chapels belonged to Henry VIII., the north chapel by his purchase of the Manor from Lord Sandes, and the south by Sir Thomas More's attainder. The latter, indeed, has again reverted to the Crown, as Mr. Crew died without heirs ; and my father dispensing with a formal conveyance, obtained only a receipt for the purchase-money, and the deeds ; all of which he handed over to the Church Trustees, who now hold them,



CAPITAL OF THE EASTERN RESPOND OF THE ARCH OPENING INTO MORE'S CHAPEL

the responds of the arch between the chapel and the chancel of the Church. Not only is the fact that they are carved with More's crest and arms and the date 1528 enough to justify a tradition so well founded, but their design leaves little doubt that they were cut from a drawing by no less an artist than Hans Holbein, who at that time was a guest in More's house at Chelsea.

This suggestion was made to me many years ago by Mr. Herbert Horne; and it has lately been advanced by Mr. F. M. Nichols, F.S.A., in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries, from which I venture to quote the following :

"Both designs, it will be seen, are founded upon the suggestion of a classical capital of the composite order. But the antique model is treated with a freedom which would scarcely have commended itself to the taste of an Italian artist. They are capitals, it should be observed, not of columns, but of half-columns, there being only a single arch between the chancel and the More Chapel. Each half-pillar has five sides, as the columns if completed would be octagonal; and the capitals consequently have also five sides, each of which has its volutes, as on the four sides of a regular capital of the composite order. The whole work is, as I venture to affirm, very decidedly in the manner of Holbein, various objects either taken from life or of a typical significance being mingled with the foliage. But the two capitals differ considerably in their design, and even a little in their proportions. The height of the eastern capital is 1 foot 8 inches, that of the western 1 foot 6 inches. In the eastern capital the volutes terminate in their inner curve with a projecting human head, and in each hollow of the abacus above is inserted a cherub's head between two wings, the fertility of the artist's fancy being shown by a different design for each cherub. The same abundance of invention is found in other parts of the work. In the midst of the acanthus leaves, which cover the lower part of the capital, various objects are introduced. On the west side, immediately under the arch, is a shield with the quarterly arms of More, surmounted by a helmet with mantling and the crest of a Moor's head. On the two sides adjoining that which contains the shield are ornamented tablets, one of which has no inscription, the

other bears the date 1528 in Arabic numerals. Of the two other sides the one to the north has a sword crossed with a sceptre, and that to the south a mace or some such object.

"The western capital is of a similar but simpler design, having a variety of human busts in place of the cherubs in the abacus, and the five sides of the lower part displaying several religious emblems or ornaments among the foliage; the side to the south a bundle of tapers, the next side two candlesticks placed obliquely and crossed; the third or east side, opposite the arms of More, a blank shield of decorative design; the fourth side a pail of holy water with a sprinkling brush; and the fifth a prayer-book, or missal, with clasps, suspended by a ribbon. As these various emblems evidently represent the religious ceremonies in which More was accustomed to take part in the Church, the objects introduced in the other capital, which bears his shield of arms, may probably be taken as allusive to his secular offices or employments."

Following on the Inventory above-mentioned is an account of "Seyrtyn Goods Sowld" by the churchwardens with the consent of the parishioners, amongst which are several of those belonging to this chapel. The altar was probably removed before the year 1556, when the Duchess of Northumberland's tomb was placed in the south-east corner of the chapel. The east end of the chapel is now occupied by the sumptuous monument of Sir Robert Stanley, and most of the floor is covered with pews. Roundheaded windows with wooden mullions have replaced the older ones, leaving only the splays of the Tudor work. The fine timber roof, however, remains untouched, except that some painted shields of arms have been placed at the intersections of the beams. These, and the cross of ornamental tiles let into the floor, have no historical significance, being merely embellishments designed by the architect, the late Mr. H. H. Burnell, F.S.A., who carried out the restoration in 1857.

Such are the older portions of the building which were left when the Church was enlarged in the year 1670 by the construction of the rectangular "nave," or body of the Church, which superseded the whole of the western portion of the original fabric; and it remains now to be seen how this enlargement was effected,



CAPITAL OF THE WESTERN RESPOND OF THE ARCH OPENING INTO MORE'S CHAPEL

As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century the population of Chelsea was outgrowing its Church. Amongst the Scudamore papers is a document, dated June 1631, entitled "Articles and consideracions, to be enlarged or altered as it may seeme requisite for ye advancement and perfecting of ye pious work of enlarging and repayring the Church at Chelsea ;" and another, presumably of the same date, endorsed, "for ye enlargement of the Church," which begins with the following recital :

"Forasmuch as ye small parish of Chelsey hath of late yeares been greatly increased by the buildings resort and residence of divers great and noble personages whereby the Church is become too little for the Parishioners : by wich means also many of the ancient inhabitants and their families are too commonly putt from their seats and in a sort excluded from such right and place to serve God in the Church as is very requisite and which their predecessors enjoyed And whereas it is humbly desired that the said Church may be speedily enlarged. . ."

The rest of this document relates merely to the provision of money and the disposition of materials. The former document, after some clauses concerning the wharf, proceeds as follows :

"For ye Church itselfe—

"1. It shall best fitt to dispose ye doores and passages into all parts of ye Church fayre and easy for ye accesse of ye severall families and according to their qualities or eminency, that they bee placed to their liking and satisfaction in pews or seats disposed in uniformity notwithstandinge to ye rest of ye Church, for ye decency and beauty of ye same.

"2. That a Register and platforme [*scil.* plan] bee made and kept of ye contents of every seatroome which may remayne to them and their successors.

"3. That ye doors and windows and all parts bee made soe perfect as that neither cold in winter nor heat in somer may overmuch annoy ye parishioners when they shal be together.

"4. That ye Churchwards from tyme to tyme cause reparacions of any part within or without ye Church, alike carefully towards everybodies particular seate ; which from tyme to tyme must be leavyed of

every Inhabitant according to ye proporcion of his or their seat-roome; . . .

"5. That great respect bee had to ye monuments or graves of ye deceased att ye said enlargement or reform, so yt if necessity require ye stirring of any of them, it may bee their reedificacion rather than their destruction. . . ."

In 1636 there is an entry in the Parish Books seeming to relate to some slight repairs; but nothing of importance was undertaken until in 1667 it was found absolutely necessary to find more room for the people. Accordingly in 1669-70 subscriptions were raised, as appears by another entry in the Parish Books:

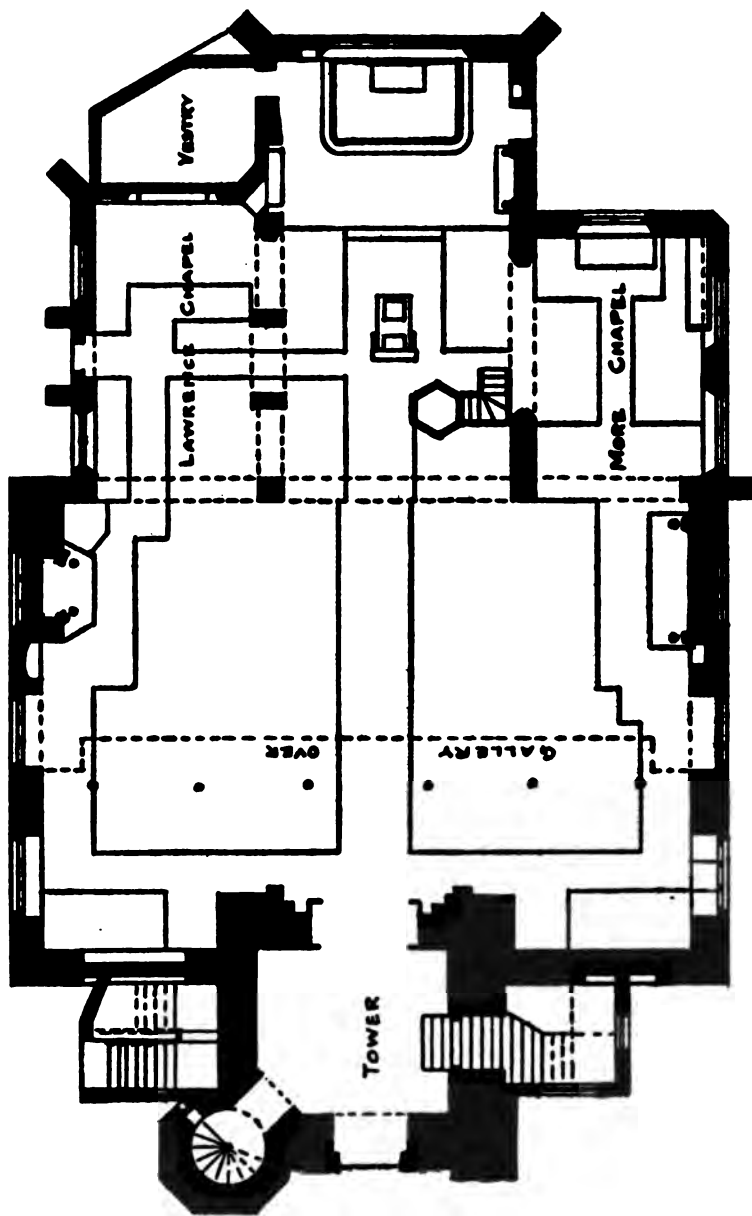
"The sum of £580 12s. 10d. was collected by voluntary contributions of the principal inhabitants, for the rebuilding of the Church." This probably includes the £100 given by George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, mentioned in the Stowe MS. 541, fol. 136, amongst his disbursements.

With this and other contributions, the work was at once put in hand, and the Church was enlarged to its present dimensions.

No drawings appear to exist of the Church as it was before this enlargement. Bowack, in the "Antiquities of Middlesex," published in 1705, states that "the shattered tower and west end of the Church were pulled down, and the north and south aisles carried several yards towards the west by two brick walls. At the west end was built a lofty square tower of brick, being in all about eighty feet from the ground. The walls of the old Church were raised, the windows enlarged, the old parts beautified, the inside new paved, the churchyard considerably raised and enclosed with a high wall of brick; and most of this done at the voluntary charge of the inhabitants, and the whole roof, lead, timber, etc. thereunto belonging, at the sole cost of the Lady Jane Cheyne."

This account, though true in effect, is not exact; and it is worth considering a little more particularly how the difficult problem of enlargement was carried out.

Merely to have lengthened the Church towards the west would have been of but little use, even supposing that the older building was



GROUND PLAN OF CHELSEA OLD CHURCH

By C. W. SUNDAY, Esq.

several yards shorter than the present one. Indeed the easiest way out of the difficulty would have been to pull the whole Church down, and build a new one; but we find that the end in view was accomplished at the least possible sacrifice. Thus the whole of the western part of the Church, including "the shattered tower," was demolished; and a rectangular "nave" was built, extending westwards to the very edge of Church Lane, and embracing the entire width (or rather more) of the old building, its eastern wall being supported on three new arches, opening into the old chancel and the chapel on either side of it. A clear space was thus won, unimpeded by piers, at the expense of only the western part of the Church; leaving untouched the chancel and the two chapels, in which most, if not all, of the antiquarian interest in the Church was contained.

Bowack gives the date of the enlargement as 1667, but it is not likely that the work had been begun when Lady Jane Cheyne's funeral sermon was preached in the Church on 1 November, 1669, in which Dr. Littleton, the Rector, says: "Of her charity to this place I question not but we shall see in a short time some fair testimonies erected."

It is evident, however, from the notes by Lord Cheyne relating to the erection of her monument (see chap. iv.), that the new building was more or less complete in January 1671-2, with the exception of the tower, which was not finally completed in 1674 (see chap. ii.). The sundial on the south face of the tower is dated 1692: the motto, "*Sic vita finis ita*," is probably Dr. Littleton's suggestion.

Bowack makes no mention of the wooden cupola which surmounted the tower, and it is doubtful whether it formed part of the original design, or was added in 1679 to receive the bell given by Ashburnham. This cupola was removed during the year 1815, but there are many drawings and views of the Church which show it. The earliest mention of it, occasioned no doubt by the great storm, is an inscription on a stone slab let into the south side of the tower:

"This cupola was repaired and a vane put up in August 1704. Miles Arnold and Oliver Maddox, Churchwardens."

It is mentioned again in the vestry minutes, in a report of a committee appointed to inspect the state of the belfry.

"1748, Jan. 16. We . . . have this day surveyed the steeple of the Parish Church relating to its shaking when the bells are ringing. We caused all the bells to be raised and rung, and found the shaking of the steeple was no more than what is common in all steeples, whether they are built of brick or stone, where there is a peal of bells.

"We have enquired of some of the old ringers if they have found any alteration for these twenty years past, and they assure us they have not. We have examined the turret or cupola and find it necessary to brace it."

Although nothing of any importance was done to the Church for a century and a half after this rebuilding, it appears that some alteration or repair of the chancel was thought desirable at a much earlier date. For in the will of Thomas Stewart (to whom I shall have occasion to allude in another chapter), dated 6 October, 1722, is contained this bequest: "Item I give and bequeath the sum of one hundred pounds to be applied towards making a handsome altar piece in the Parish Church of Chelsea, so soon as that part of the Church shall be rebuilt or repaired fit for it. And in the mean time and until such altar piece can be conveniently made my will is the said sum of one hundred pounds remain in the hands of my executors after named without interest."

Nothing appears to have been done to realise this offer, until in 1740 the matter was brought before a parish meeting pursuant to notice given in the Church on the preceding Sunday, when the Churchwardens, having waited on Mr. Nuport, one of the executors, reported "that he did assure the gentlemen of the parish" (in words to the effect as follows, viz.), that as soon as the above is complied with he will pay the £100. But as for his sending a Surveyor he would not until the work was done, having no business to give directions. And two Surveyors having been appointed (one on behalf of the Rector, and the other on behalf of the Parish), it appeared that the necessary repairs to be done to the chancel at the expense of the Rev^d. Dr. Elsmere, Rector, amounted to the sum of £26, which the doctor consented to accordingly. And the Surveyor on behalf of the Parish brought in an estimate for work necessary to be done by the Parish to beautify the

chancel, in order to receive a handsome altar piece, amounting to the sum of £27 8s. 8d., and the question being put whether the same should be agreed to—Resolved in the affirmative.*

There is no further mention, however, either of the repairs or of the altar piece.

In the year 1815 many proposals for restoring and improving the Church were discussed, and we owe a debt of gratitude to a Mr. Robinson for the course which was ultimately adopted. He reported to the Church Committee "that it had always been his opinion that as little money as possible should be expended in the repairs of the present Church [the new one being talked about], and that he was now of opinion all that was necessary to be done to the exterior was to take off the turret, put in tie irons as formerly proposed, and compo the tower up to the level of the body of the Church, and also the body of the Church ; and that he apprehended that the slating of the roof and doing all that is above mentioned may cost about £400, and that the lead off the roof may perhaps produce £300."

Both Mr. Lewer and Mr. Flight, the owners of the two chapels, were now asked to repair their chapels. Mr. Flight's reply was as follows :—

"Sir,—I have received yours of the 20th, and can only say in reply that 3 or 4 years back, in consequence of a message from the Churchwarden, Milman Chapel was repaired to his satisfaction. Nor am I aware that any repair is at present necessary."

Mr. Lewer, on the other hand, wrote a long and courteous letter, expressing his willingness to do anything that might be thought desirable. He also offered some remarks on the Church in general, and in particular on the tower : "In the next place," he writes, "I beg leave to inform you that in the time of the Rev. Mr. Sturges I had the Church and tower surveyed at my own expense by a very respectable surveyor, who made his report that the tower was so judiciously constructed that the buttresses all butterd inwards, and so well their position have retained that were the walls taken out from between them, he

* Report on Chelsea Charities 1862.

should not fear standing on the top of the tower while the ringers rang a good peal. . . ."

In the year 1832 the Church underwent a restoration, of which Faulkner gives the following account in a letter to the "Gentleman's Magazine" (1832, p. 602) :

"The old church of St. Luke, Chelsea, has lately undergone a thorough interior reparation. The pavement has been relaid; the pews lowered and newly arranged; the pulpit removed and placed in the middle aisle near the lower chancel; and the monuments all very carefully cleaned and repaired. An unsightly gallery, placed across the chancel, has been taken down, and by this means the venerable monument of the illustrious Sir Thomas More, which was partly concealed by the staircase leading to that gallery, is now again laid open to the public view. It is intended to put this monument into a complete state of restitution by means of a public subscription, at the head of which our worthy Rector, the Rev. J. W. Lockwood, has placed his name."

The "interior reparation" desirable, though it may have been for the proper purposes of the Church, must have robbed the building of much of its old-fashioned character. A portfolio has been acquired lately by the Chelsea Public Library, containing a series of drawings of the Church and its monuments, made about the year 1825. . . . Amongst these drawings is a large view in water colour of the interior of the Church, taken from the north-west, which, though grotesquely drawn, gives a good idea of the state of the Church at the time when Faulkner wrote his account of it, a state which no doubt had altered but little since the enlargement in 1670.

A water-colour drawing, which is in the possession of Mr. Davies, the Incumbent, and which is endorsed with a label "Chelsea Old Church, by George C. Handford, 1845," shows very clearly the thoroughness of the "reparation" of 1832. This drawing, which is reproduced on the opposite page, is remarkably exact in detail. At a first glance one would say that it represents the Church as it is to-day, the only alterations that have been made since that date being those carried out by Mr. Davies during the years 1857-60.



CHELSEA OLD CHURCH IN 1845.

From a drawing by C. Handford, belonging to the Rev. R. H. Davies.

CHAPTER II

CHURCH GOODS AND FURNITURE

NONE of the goods or furniture now remaining in the Church are of earlier date than the enlargement which took place in 1670. But there are numerous documents before that date which contribute a great deal of interest to the present chapter; and I will preface my separate descriptions of the bells, pews, and other furniture, with the first of these, namely the Inventory made in 1549, contained in Volume 498 of "Miscellaneous Books" at the Public Record Office.

THE PRYSSHE CHURCHE OF CHELSEY.

We the Jury doo present and sertyfy the goods plate Ornaments Jewells and Bells belongynge and aperteynyng to the Church of Chelsey wⁱⁿ the countie of Midd as well within the Inventory takyn by the Kinges Maiests Commessioners as alsoe other goods Belongynge to the same Church and Parryssh not beyng in the Inventory w^h Rerages and other Deptts belongynge to the same church as aperethe hereafter more playnly Sertyfyed by us the same Jury the fyfte daye of Augoost in the yere of our Lorde God a thowsand fyve hundryth fyfty and two and in the sexte Yere of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lorde Kynge Edwarde the Sext by the Grace of God of Englande Ffraunce and Ierlande Kynge Defendour of the faithe and of the Church of England and Ierland the Suprem Hede Emedyaty under God.

This Inventory made the tenth daye of Marche in the thurde Yere of the Reigne of ow^r most Dreade Sovereigne Lorde Kynge

Edwarde the Sext of all such goods as is in the Church of Chelsay in the Countie of Midd by the consent of Robertt Richardson Clarke parson of the same Thomas Beane the younger, and Henry Chamber wardens of the same churche John Shelly and George Bryce of the seyde parrysshe wytness to the same.

Jewells } Itm two Chalics of sylver w^t patens by syde one whych
& } wase brent and consumed by fyer beyng in the
Plate } costodie of Thomas Beane

Itm A Crose of copper and gylte & a lyttell maser w^t a Bonde of sylver

Itm three aulter clothes to hange before the aulters

Itm three Aulter clothes of Dyeper

Itm iiij towells of Dyeper

Itm two Curtens at the hyghe Aulter

Itm fyve Candelstycks of Latten

Itm Two basons of pewter

Itm iiij Corporas cases and two clothes belongyng to them

Itm Two Qwesshions of Tynsell

Itm iiij Qwesshions of owlde sylke

Itm iij vestments one of black vellett and two of Satten w^t vellett

Crosses and all thyngs belongyng to them

Itm vii owlde vestments of Satten and caddas

Itm one Cope of Tawny vellett & one other owlde cope

Itm Two Curtyns of sylke w^t a Cannapy of sylke

Itm one hearse clothe of tynsell sylke and vellet

Itm Fyve Surpleses newe and owlde

Itm vi greate bowks besyds the Byble

Itm Three masse bowks and vii smale bowks

Itm A Sensor of latten

Itm A Holy water Stocke

THE LADY MORES CHAPELL

Itm in the same Chapell two aulter clothes

Itm an aulter clothe of Brydye satten w^t a Border to the same

CHURCH GOODS AND FURNITURE 17

- Itm two Corteyns of sylke belongynge to the same
 Itm xiiij bowle Candelstycks of pewter and a lyttyll Branche of
 latten and two lamps of latten
 Itm one payre of orgayns
 Itm In the Steple three greate bells, and one lyttyll sarvice bell
 Itm Two Hande Bells and a Sakarynge bell
 Itm Two Cruetts of Pewter
 Itm A lyttell Chest wythe two locks
 Itm In the Steple three owlde Chests

SOWLDE.

Serteyn goods sowlde By Robert Fysher and John Shelley Church-
 wardens w^t the consente of the same Parryshioners the parsells as
 followeth—

- Impm̃is sowlde to Thomas Hungerforde Gefi a Coporas case
 iij^s iiij^d And a Qwesshion v^s.
 And a maser gylte beyng garneshed w^t sylver & gylte xij^s
 Itm sowlde to Water Harbarde Gefi a vest-
 ment of Black vellett pr̃ce xx^s
 And another vestment pryce x^s
 And another vestment pryce vi^s viii^d
 And a Cannapy clothe pryce xiiij^s iiij^d
 And the hangyns of the awlter for lentt ij^s
 Itm sowlde to Thomas Saunders two aulter
 clothes vj^d
 And three vestments pryce x^s
 And two banner clothes pryce viij^d
 And another owlde vestment pryce xvj^d
 Itm sowlde to George Bryce a vestment, a
 Corporas Case and two vestments of
 whytt Satten pryce xij^s
 And two hangings for an aulter pryce xij^d
 Itm sowlde to Robertt, Mr. Hungerfords sṽant an albe pryce
 xvj^d.

- Itm sowlde a vestment to Harry Chamber pryce iiij^s
 Itm sowlde to Robertt Fysher a paynted clothe pryce ij^s
 Itm to the same Fysher sowlde a table clothe of Dyeper, pryce
 iiij^s
 Itm sowlde to Sr Edmund Burtton an albe pryce xvj^d
 And to the same Burton the Cannapy staves, pryce iiij^d
 Itm sowlde to Robert Hawle an albe pryce xvj^d
 Itm sowlde to Thomas Lyans an albe pryce xvi^d
 Itm sowlde a Crosse of Copper and gylte and a lyttell
 branche of latten and two lamps of latten, a
 holy water stocke of latten, a sensor of latten
 all which parsells doithe weye xxxⁱⁱ pounds } vii^s vi^d
 pryce the pounce iiij^d
 sowlde to John Cartar of Westmynster
 Itm sowlde to the same Cartar xiiij Lyttell bowle
 candelstycks of pewter weyng vij pounds } v^s x^d
 pryce of Every pounce x^d
 Som of thes goods sowlde vii^s vij^s ij^d.

GOODS REMAYNYNGE IN THE CHURCHE.

Thes Be the parsells of the plate Ornaments and other goods
 Remaynyng in the Church in Costody of John Shelley and Thomas
 Smythe church wardens.

- Remaynyng
 in the Church { Impnis two Challics parsell gylte
 Itm two Candellstycks of latten.
 Itm One Corporas casse of Redd vellett & tynsell.
 Itm iiiii Qwesshions.
 Itm Two table clothes.
 Itm Two towells.
 Itm three Albes.
 Itm Three sorpleses.
 Itm A Clothe to Kever the Communyon table of sylke.
 Itm A hearse clothe of Redd sylke and golde.

CHURCH GOODS AND FURNITURE 19

- Itm A payre of Orgayns.
- Itm two lyttell basons.
- Itm iii greatt bells and a lyttell bell in the Steple.
- Itm three owlde Chests.

Thes parsells of the goods mencioned w^tin the Inventory takyn by the Kyngs highnes Commessioners in the thurde yeare of his moost gracyous Reigne were stowln, and the churche broken the parcells of the goods as aperythe hereafter

- Stowln.—Impⁿis one Coope of tawne vellett Branched w^t golde
 Itm a hearse Clothe of Blewe vellett w^t a Crosse of Redd vellett
 and branched w^t golde and one Coope of Caddas.
 And two curtzens of sylke, two aultor clothes of dyeper.
 And two sorplesses two towells one of them dyeper theother
 playne
 And one Corporas case and a Clothe therein and two albes

BELLS.

It is probable that the "three greate bells and one lytyll sarvice bell" in the Inventory remained in the steeple until it was rebuilt and furnished with the "good ring of six bells" mentioned by Bowack. For in 1597 there is an entry in the Parish Books of four shillings paid "to the Lo. Almoner's Officers for not ringinge at the Q remove from Kensington to Richmond." This is followed by an entry in 1632 of one shilling "given to the Ringers at his Majestie's coming to the Duchess's house." And in 1665, ten shillings "payed to the ringers when his Majestie dined at the Spanish Ambassador's." (Faulkner, vol. ii. p. 144.)

The most interesting feature of the new peal was the tenor bell, given by Dr. Baldwin Hamsey, concerning which the following particulars are quoted by Faulkner :

	£	s.	d.
Nov. 18. 1673. Paid to William Eldridge for the			
great bell, braces, carriage, &c.	106	16	0

£ s. d.

Dec. 20. 1673. Paid to Anthony Wellman for the complete hanging the said bell, which is thus inscribed, viz., 'Di Lucae Medico Evangelico Baldvinus Hamey Phil. Evangelico Medicus D.D.'	16	0	0
1674. Paid by Dr. Hamey's nephew Ralph Palmer Esq. for the Church, his own gift, which, with recasting the Great Bell, cost him first £50 afterwards £30	80	0	0

The inscription on the bell was composed by the Rector, Dr. Adam Littleton, and is printed at the end of his Latin Dictionary, subjoined to some verses in praise of Hamey, of which the following refer to his benefaction to the Church :—

“Moenia Te Templi, Te plumbea tecta loquuntur
Te, Lucamque Tuum resonabunt aera canora.
Jam duplex Chelseia Tibi est Tutela Penatum
Et Divus Lucas, Divisque Simillimus Hamey.”

This peal lasted barely a century. In a faculty, dated 1762, preserved in the muniment room at the new Church, it was recited that “the bells . . . consist of six in number that the third is crackt and the others are untunable and very much out of repair: that a sufficient sum of money has been raised by voluntary contributions . . .” and licence was given “for recasting the said six bells and by adding sufficient metal thereto to make them a peal of eight bells, and for hanging them in the steeple or tower of the said Parish Church.”

Only one bell, the fourth, now remains of this peal of eight, which is inscribed :

“Thomas Janaway of London fecit 1762.”

The rest were dealt with in accordance with the following vestry minutes :

March 30th 1824. At a public Vestry held this day pursuant to notice “to take into consideration the necessity of disposing of the bells of the old Church except such

CHURCH GOODS AND FURNITURE 21

as may be necessary for calling the parishioners to attend Divine Service and the proceeds to be applied towards the payment of the new peal for the new Church, and to make application to the Ordinary for a faculty to authorize the same to be carried into execution" it was resolved that the Rector and Churchwardens be directed to apply to the ordinary for a faculty to enable them to sell the bells of the Old Church reserving such as are necessary to call the parishioners to Divine Service Resolved that a Committee be appointed" etc.

April 22nd 1824. At a meeting of the Committee appointed to consider and determine what bells in the Old Church may be properly disposed of, the Committee proceeded to view the bells, and they were unanimously of opinion that only one bell will be required to call the parishioners to divine service on Sunday, and that the bell best suited for that purpose is the fourth. It also appeared that the clock can strike on the same. . . ."

There is one other bell in the Church, which is now placed on a bracket in the western entrance. It bears this inscription :

"The gift of the Honorable William Ashburnham Esq. Cofferer of His Maesties Household 1679."

Faulkner says that "in the year 1679 the Honourable William Ashburnham, who was travelling through Chelsea late in the evening in the midst of winter, lost his way and got into the Thames ; just at this critical moment the Church clock struck nine, by the sound of which he was enabled to ascertain his situation, and by this means he saved his life. . . . In order to commemorate his providential escape from drowning he gave a bell to this parish inscribed with his name, and bequeathed a sum of money to pay for the ringing of it every evening at nine o'clock from Michaelmas to Lady Day. This custom was continued till the year 1825. . . . I am informed by Mr. Cole that many years since he used to go with the Churchwarden to a house in Great Suffolk Street, Charing Cross, to receive the money left for the ringing of this bell."

The following occurs in a report on the Chelsea Charities, made by a committee of the vestry in 1862 :

"With regard to this particular bell, a member of our Committee (Mr. Perry) informs us that the practice of tolling it at nine o'clock was discontinued by Mr. Burrard, who was Churchwarden in 1822, because he could discover no fund to pay the expenses ; and that statement is not at variance from that of the man who used to toll i

(William Reeves of No. 58 Church Street), which is, that about fifty years ago he succeeded his father in tolling the nine o'clock bell every evening except Sunday during the six winter months. The bell was rung for about five minutes, and he used to be paid at the rate of one penny per night, with a penny candle per week in addition. He does not know the source from whence the money came; but Mr. Goodyer, the parish clerk, used to pay him quarterly, and it was Mr. Goodyer who told him to discontinue the practice without any explanation as to his reason for doing so . . . our informant (Reeves) says that . . . the contractors for the new church bells had the old ones, except this bell, which (and we give this last statement for what it is worth) being covered with rubbish escaped notice."

Unfortunately there is nothing beyond this hearsay evidence to support so interesting a legend. Ashburnham's will was proved on 13 March, 1679-80; and in a codicil dated 20 August, 1679, are these bequests: "Item, I give to doctor Littleton of Chelsey twentie pounds and to the poore of the Parish of Chelsey twentie pounds." The latter is not mentioned in Faulkner's list of charities; and the will contains no allusion to a bell. Possibly both the bell, and the fund for ringing it, were a gift during his lifetime; and the fact that he is not known to have been connected in any way with Chelsea may give colour to the tradition concerning it.

An inscription upon a panel now placed under the bell, after repeating the story of Ashburnham's adventure, continues:

"Many Changes in the Church having taken place since then, & this bell having long remained unused & nearly forgotten, it is preserved as an interesting Chelsea antiquity, having been removed from the Clock Tower and placed in its present position by order of the Church Trustees, and under the direction of

A. GERALD W. BLUNT, M.A., Rector.

R. HENRY DAVIES, B.A., Incumbent of the Old Church.

T. B. DIPLOCK, M.D. }
G. W. RICHARDS } Churchwardens.

March, 1862."

CHURCH GOODS AND FURNITURE 23

Faulkner gives a long list of payments to the ringers from the Parish Books, of which the following record local events :

- 1667. Dec. 28. When the King came through the town,
- 1674. When the King came to the Earl of Lindsey's
- 1676. When His Majesty came to town.
- 1689. When the Queen landed at Chelsea.
- 1699. Apl. 11. That day the King went twice over the ferry.
- 1716. When the Princess visited the Duchess of Monmouth.
- 1717. June 12. For the Prince and Princess coming up by
water.
- June 17. When the Prince and Princess lay before
the town.

Upon the east wall of the ringers' loft is a stone tablet with the following inscription, surmounted by a row of eight bells carved in relief :

COLLEGE YOUTHS.

This Society Rung February the 18th, 1783
5049 (*sic*) bob Major in 3 hours & 15 Min'
being the 1st true PEAL Ever

Rung on
These BELLS.

Jas Worster treb.
Edwd Simmons 2nd.
Geo Plowman 3rd.
Isrl Johnson 4th.

Wm Hallatt 5th.
Richd Millard 6th.
Thos Verren 7th.
Wm Faulkner tenr.

Mr. George Harrison
Mr. Robert Marriott
Churchwardens.

PEWS.

With the exception of one or two of those in the North Chapel,

which perhaps date from the enlargement of the Church in 1670, the whole of the present pews were put in at the restoration in 1857.

Concerning the old pews there are several interesting records, the earliest of which is a correspondence between Sir John Lawrence and Sir Edward Cecil, which was contributed to "Notes and Queries" in 1861 (2nd Series XI. Jan. 5th) by "F. L.," who, I am informed by the Editor, was probably the late Mr. Frederick Lawrence of the Inner Temple.

Sir Edward Cecil's residence in Chelsea, as I shall show in another chapter, was the old house known as "The Farm," and afterwards as the Earl of Lindsey's.

SIR EDWARD CECIL *to* SIR JOHN LAWRENCE.

SIR,

I received a Letter from you wherein you tell mee of exceptions you take at a pue I made in the Church at Chelsea ; which I had then answered, if your dwelling had beene so well knowne to mee, as mine is to you. You pretend a claime of royaltie by inheritance unto it. I send you now an account of myself, and my purpose touching your claime. When I came into the Church, I found all men accommodated with pues; specielle you and your house; sufficientlie becoming your person and qualitie. I intruded upon no man; but found out an unhandsome neglected corner, imployed in nothing but for the roome of an old rotten chest; seeing every man served, I thought it no iniurie to goe into that poore corner myself to serve God in. I have beene at the charge of the pue in that place, which was never put to this use before. You take a Rent for your owne; and make use of my charge. I know not what greatness belongs unto you, that you cannot content your selfe with a reasonable proportion in so little a Church, nor what strange kind of malice it is you beare mee, that you seek to keepe mee out of a place in the Church, that till my coming into it, you never made account of to serve God in; and I beleeeve not now, but to serve your owne humour in. In such a case there is a similie of a Dogge in a Manger, that may not unfitly

CHURCH GOODS AND FURNITURE 25

be applied nuto it. Now for your authoritie and inheritance, I cannot understand the justness of it. In my mind, those are things given in generall to the parish; specialle when they concerne groundes that have not beene used; and are to be disposed of by the Churchwardens. For, my Grandfather, and some other of my friends, have made pues in St. Clementes and St. Martines; and we their Children, can challenge no right but what the parish will allow us. Therefore I would wish you (Sir) to forbear my pue; and not to vallew your selfe at so great a rate and mee so little; as to possesse it when you know I am in Chelsea; unlesse you wilbee content, when I shall find it, to take as great an affront as you have done mee. I pray you consider with your selfe what you have done, and what you will doe.

your friend

EDWARD CECIL.

Aprill y^e 29th, 1621.

To my Worthie Friend

Sir JOHN LAWRENCE

Knight &c. &c.

SIR JOHN LAWRENCE to SIR EDWARD CECILL.

HONOURABLE SIR

I receaved a message and a Letter from yo^r wth a fayre outside but more bitter wthin then there is cause, either of the mallice you conceive I beare yo^r, or of ye slight opinion yo^r seeme to have of mee. Yet honouring yo^r noble birthe and person, I have thought fitt to write yo^r an answeare least a message might miscarry; both to shew yo^r upon what misinformed grounds yo^r inferre; and wth due moderation to enforme yo^r of my right for yo^r better satisfaction, supposing yo^r though yet unacquainted, to bee so honourable, as yo^r will knowingly offer wrong to no man. For y^e pretended voydnes in my chappell, I assure yo^r when I dwelt here before I went to my house at Iver; there stood a seate in w^{ch} my parents in their life time (who are buried in y^e chappell) sate, and I their heyre so long as I continued heere; so as

yf it were removed it was lately done by some of my tenants, and this
 y^e clarke can enforme yo^r. For my right it stands thus ; that many
 hundred years sithence till King Henry y^e 8th builded a nursery in
 this towne, mine was y^e manor house of Chelsy, in that chappell have
 all my predecessors sate as solely and peculiarly belonging to my house.
 The King exchanged wth y^e then lord of Chelsy other lands for y^e lands
 belonging to this mannor ; but y^e lord y^e dwelt in my house reserved
 y^e same house wth those rights and that ground wth now I hold about
 it, to himself. Ever sithence also we have had y^e only property of
 that chappell, wee ever repayred it, and not y^e parishe ; wee only
 buried in it and none els save out of my house. The Parson hath
 nothing to do there, nor ever hath anything for beaking (*sic*) up the
 ground, but we have a private dore into it wth a peculiar locke and
 key, ever kept by my predecessors and my self. So as no man in
 Chelsy (though heere have been very great persons) did ever offer to
 disturbe our right and possession continued so many hundreths of
 yeeres, time out of mind, till it pleased yo^r S^r, upon misconceaved
 grounds, so to do. This there is none old or yong in Chelsy, either
 by themselves or by relation from their forefathers, can contradict.
 Now for yo^r self I did and still do honour yo^r so much, as I sent yo^r
 worde, yf yo^r pleased to accept a place there for a convenient time (as
 a curtesy not of right) till yo^r could otherwise bee provided, yo^r
 might command me. But yf I should permitt yo^r to take a parte of
 my chappell from me de jure, I should in short time, as yo^r well know,
 loose my right, my chappell, and my ancient inheritance ; wth I think
 yo^r will not hold unreasonable in mee if I should offer y^e like to yo^r ;
 were my case yours. For yo^r Pue I desire not to make use of yo^r
 charge, I thank God (howsoever yo^r vallue mee) my fortunes are not
 so meane as I need it. But yf yo^r will take it downe, yo^r shall have
 free liberty, and I will set up mine in y^e place where it formerly stood.
 Yf otherwise yo^r think yo^r title better than mine, take it not as any
 maliciousnes to yo^r worthe (but as befitts every man y^e is able, or under-
 stands reason) yf I defend myne owne ; doing, not intending to do
 ought, but that wth is and shall be lawfull for mee to do. And for y^e
 affront yo^r write of I know of none, nor will I offer any to yo^r, nor do

CHURCH GOODS AND FURNITURE 27

I feare yo^r threats assuring my self yo^r wisdome, and moderation will bee such, as not to make a disturbance in y^e house of God, nor wth a strong hand to dispossesse mee of my auncient birth-right (w^{ch} I intend to hold) till by a legall proceeding yo^r can evict it from mee. And thus leaving it to yo^r choice to decme of mee as yo^r please, desiring to know yo^r answere I rest

yo^r loving friend to command

Yf so yo^r please to esteeme me

J. LAWRENCE

To my Ho^b friend

Sir EDWARD CECILL Knight &c. &c.

SIR EDWARD CECILL to SIR JOHN LAWRENCE.

SIR ;

You desire to know my answere. This it is, There are two things considerable to mee, in the question that is between us. The first, that I had no purpose to intrude ; but benefited the place where I seated my selfe. The second, that the mannere of your proceeding with mee hath called upon mee to be sensible of an affront in it. Concerning the first ; when I had taken a house heere in Chelsea, now and then to lodge at, the next thing I sought for, was a place at Church, wherein, that I intended no intrusion, it will appear in this. I considered places alreadie taken up. Among the rest, I found your house fullie and spatiouslie provided for. I then looked upon the emptie places, and was deisrous to have a Pue in that voide roome, which was put to no use, but laie open to the Church, yet, I did not presuminglie enter upon it, but with ye notice and advice of the Parson and Churchwardens ; as Sir Arthur Gorges and others well know ; who never informed mee of anie title you had unto it ; but held it reasonable, and without offence to anie. Neither did I it to appropriate the place to my dwelling for posteritie ; but only to convert an idle Roome to my use, when I should be heere, for the service of God. This was all of it, so far from meaning to intrude or doe

wrong ; as I made it a Roome fit for you in my absence, that was before unserviceable. Now, touching the second thing considerable in the question ; which is the discourtesie I was sensible of. When I had built the pue, you took affection to the place ; and (for anie thing I did heare) not before. And then you writt unto mee about it, without letting me know how or where I might find you, to answere you, which if you done, I assure my selfe, we should not have disagreed. But without doing this, you proceeded to the shutting mee out of it, which verie course of yours towards mee, wherein you professe you meant kindnes to mee, I took to bee unfriendlie. Again, Understanding you a Gentleman of much discretion and humanitie, it did seeme exceeding strange unto mee, that I having made the place better, you should denie mee Roome, when I am heere my selfe, comming so seldom to make use of it. But there may be mistaking in both of us. I shall be willing to have the misunderstandings cleared. And as I shall not gladlie meete with anie occasion of disturbance in the house of God ; or ever affect the doing of wrong ; so I could not with reason forsak mine owne honour by suffering indignitie. To conclude ; had I known how to have answered your first letter ; I would have gratefully entertained your kind offer then made mee ; as I doe the same now. And thus I rest

your affectionate friend to deserve
your courtesie

EDWARD CECILL.

To my worthy and
much respected Friend ;

Sir JOHN LAWRENCE Knight &c. &c.

Amongst the Scudamore Papers is the following draft of an agreement concerning two other pews belonging to the New Manor House and Sir John Danvers' house respectively. (B. M. Add. MSS. 11,056.)

Wheras the right Hoble Lady Margarett, Countesse of Nott and her Noble husband Sr William Monson, Knt, were possessed of right of custome of a Pue or seate in Church, being the uppermost on the

CHURCH GOODS AND FURNITURE 29

South side of the north Ile & adjoyning to Sr John Lawrence his Chapple or Ile, wherein some part of her honors family did use to sitt; and whereas the rt Woell Sr John Davers knt was likewise possessed & did use one other Pue or seate belonging to Mr. Shuckborough's house wherein he now lives, the said Pue or Seate being the uppermost on the north side rowe of the same Ile: Forasmuch as some prsent conveniency hath moved and concluded an admittance to exchange the use of the Pue [or] Seate for a tyme, this writing witnesseth that ye said partyes are contented and satisfied therein; and have likewise agreed that when soever on eyther side it shalbe required to resettle the said pews in their former ancient course warnynge of six months on either part shall bind the due performance therof;

22th of Aprill 1626

In Dr. King's MS. is the following account of the pews in the chancel and of the rent paid for them:

	£
The pew next the Desk	2
The middle pew the south side	3
The third pew that side	2
Lady Radnor's pew other side let but not paid	2
This year I built two small pews next the steps	3

In the year 1703 Mr. Woodcock is to pay £6 yearly for his gallery, and in the meantime he is to use it freely for his [trouble] in building it.

The whole of seats 18

Dr. King repeats this list under the dates 1704 and 1717, with slight variations; the income being increased to £20 by the addition of a "Great Seat to Divers Persons."

A panel of carved wood is now affixed to the face of the front pew on the south side of the chancel, the principal ornament of which is a mitre. This belonged to a pew occupied by the Bishops of Winchester, which is shown by one of the drawings at the Public Library, in front of the pulpit, on the south side of the middle aisle.

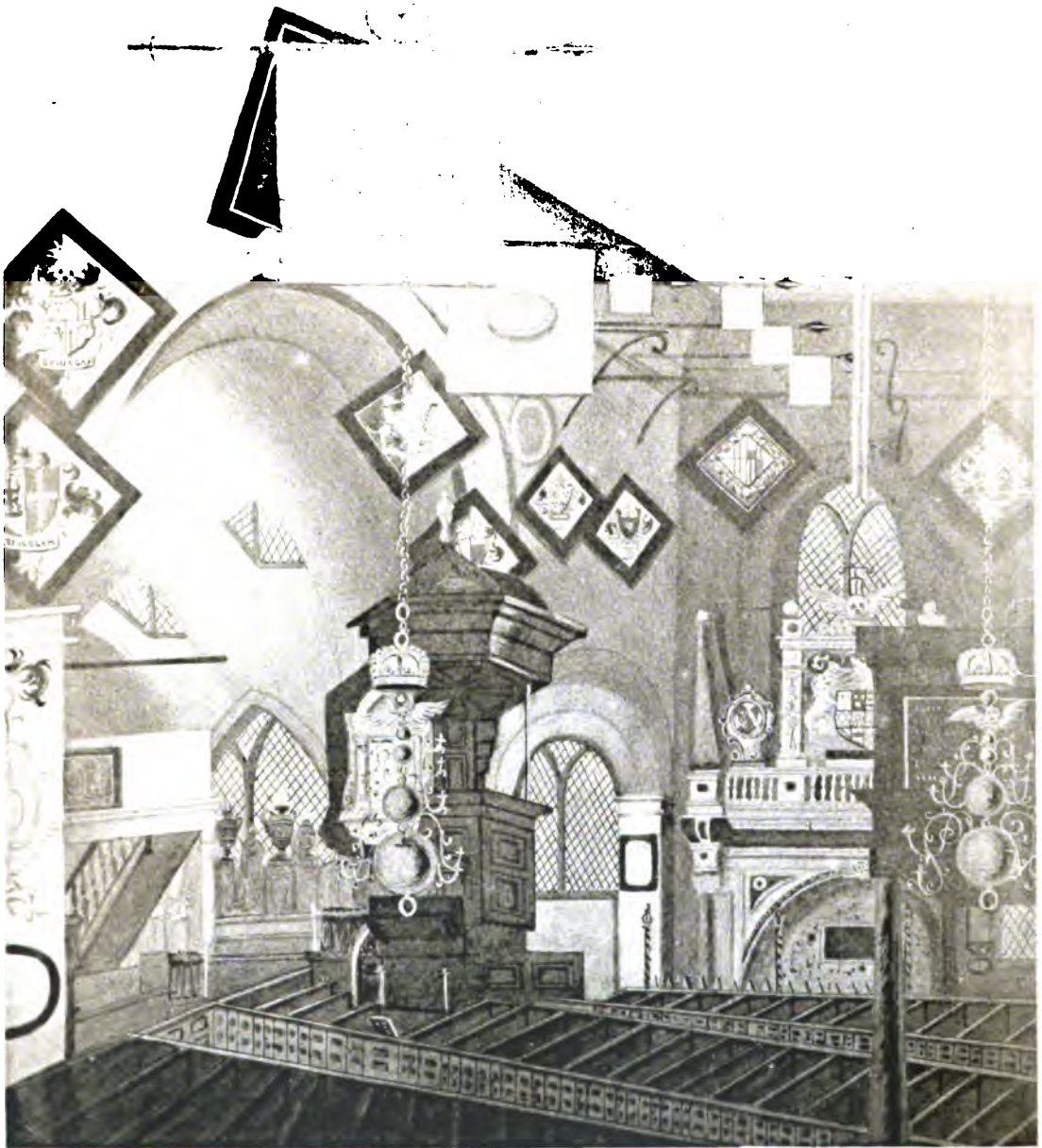
Winchester Palace was built during the latter part of the seventeenth century (on the site now occupied by the west side of Oakley Street, at the riverside), to replace the old Palace in Southwark. The Bishops continued to reside there until Dr. George Tomline applied to Parliament to have the Palace sold about the year 1825, when it was bought by the Lord of the Manor.

In a portfolio at the Public Library is a print of this advertisement dated September 1755 :

"To be lett on the south side of Paradise Row Chelsea fronting the river Thames heretofore in possession of Sir Henry Gough, and since of the Lady Katherine Jones a . . . house. Stairs to the Thames, and a good Pew in the Church."

An agreement for the erection of the pew is entered in the Vestry Minutes, 1 December, 1718. The pew is shown in the drawing by Mr. Handford, mentioned in the last chapter, situated opposite to the Dacre monument in the north aisle. Since Gough House was pulled down, and my father, the present Incumbent, re-pewed the whole Church in 1857, the pew has disappeared, and no private rights to it have been set up.

In the Vestry Minute Book it is noted that in 1784 the Church pews were to be taken down and refixed to a regular plan. The drawings in the Public Library, which I have already alluded to (some of which are signed "E. Gulston 1825"), serve to convey a good idea of the appearance of the Church as filled by these old-fashioned pews. For the most part the effect is picturesque ; but in some cases, probably owing to additions made from time to time as necessity arose, it is deplorable. The state of the More Chapel, for instance, as it appears in the drawing, is, in these days, scarcely imaginable, the whole available space, and indeed rather more, being filled with high wooden boxes. The fact is that this chapel was private property, and at that time in the hands of people who had no other interest in it than to make as much as they might out of the pew rents ; and so we see the space between the sarcophagus and the end of the canopy of the Duchess of Northumberland's tomb occupied by a ludicrous single seat with a straight high back ; though it must be allowed



CHELSEA CHURCH, c. 1825.

From a drawing at the Chelsea Public Library.

CHURCH GOODS AND FURNITURE 31

that it was not until a somewhat later date, which is not known for certain, that the owner of this chapel went to the further length of removing the sarcophagus altogether, and using the whole space under the canopy, as it is still used, for a pew.

The southernmost end of Mr. Woodcock's "unsightly gallery placed across the chancel" is shown in another of these views. It was supported by pillars, and stood between the eastern piers of the arches opening into the More and Lawrence chapels, stretching across the entire width of the chancel. It was entered by a straight flight of steps leading up from, and partly hiding, Sir Thomas More's monument. Upon the front of this gallery (which faced westwards towards the pulpit) is shown a quadrangular panel of wood upon which are painted the royal arms. This panel is now fixed to the wall over the chancel arch, which may have been its original position; for in 1678, twenty years before the gallery was erected, there is an entry in the Parish Books of a payment "for putting up the King's arms in the Church".

In the same view the pulpit is shown standing aslant against the south pier of the chancel arch, together with the old-fashioned lectern and clerk's desk. Over the pulpit is shown a fine canopy or sounding-board, which is supported on the preacher's left side by a brass rod or pillar, and surmounted by a small figure coloured yellow. This is the wooden effigy of Luke the Evangelist, which has recently been placed on a carved wooden bracket upon the west side of the south pier. The sounding-board itself has not been heard of since the "reparation."*

Two handsome brass chandeliers are also shown, hanging from the ceiling over the middle aisle. Faulkner mentions these as being inscribed as follows:

"This tow bransches is a gift to the
Parish Church of Schelsey by
Thomas Frankling and Ester his
Wif and Dominy 1693."

"This is a gift to Chelchey Church, December 1692.—T. E. F."

* Ralph Palmer, in his *Memoir of Dr. Baldwin Hamsey* notes that "out of respect to St. Luke and Dr. Hamsey, one Fletcher, a favourite servant of the doctor's, gave the little figure of St. Luke which stands upon the rising roof of the pulpit."

"On Wednesday night," Faulkner continues, "the 27th of December, 1827, this Church was sacrilegiously broken into and the following articles were stolen: viz. two plated flagons, two plated chalices, two plated salvers, a blue cloth covering for the Communion table, and a table cloth and napkin for the same; a crimson cushion and hanging for the pulpit, the brass branches for the pulpit, and those from the chandeliers in the middle aisle. And on Thursday night, the first of February following, the Church was again broken into and robbed of the chandeliers, the brass curtain rods, and the cushions from the Churchwardens' and overseers' pews."

A wooden boss of considerable size, elaborately carved, has lately been placed in the Chelsea Public Library. It was removed from the ceiling of the nave, being one of two from which the chandeliers hung.

Amongst the papers preserved in the muniment room at the new Church is the following list of Church goods, made in the year 1752, which comprises several of those above mentioned:—

UTENSILS IN AND BELONGING TO CHELSEA CHURCH.

PLATE.

			ozs.	pwt.
A large silver Salver gilded .	.	weighs	25	10
A large Flaggon	" . .	"	53	5
It's Companion .	. . .	"	52	5
A Cup and Cover	. . .	"	25	0

LINEN.

Three Surplices, a Damask Table Cloth, a Napkin.

BOOKS.

A large Bible wth Cutts in Folio }
A Common Prayer in Folio } for the Reading Desk.

CHURCH GOODS AND FURNITURE 33

Two Common Prayers in Folio
neatly bound in Red Leather
and Gilded Ornamented wth } for the Communion Table.
4 Blue Ribbons wth Gold
Fringe to Each
3 Prayer Books for Church Wardens.

S^r HANS SLOANES GIFT.

A large Bible in Folio.
Three Volumes of Martyrs in Folio.
One Volume of Homilies in Folio.
One Common Prayer in Folio.

A Green Flower'd Velvet Cushion and Cloth for the Pulpit.
A Crimson Do. for the Communion Table.
Two Large Brass Chandeliers.
A large Brass Mitre wth Branches.
Two Brass Branches for Pulpit.
Do. for Reading Desk.
Four Brass Candlesticks for the Officers Pews.
Two Pewter Collecting Basons.

UNDER THE PULPIT.

An Iron Bound Chest.

IN THE VESTRY.

A Large Square Deal Table.
A Green Cloth and Cushion Do.
Two Forms Cover'd wth Bayze.
A Desk Table Cover'd wth Cloth.
A Mohogany Arm Chair.
A Large Oak Chest wth 6 Locks and Keys.
A Wains^t Oak Chest small^r wth Locks and Keys.

A Cupboard and Press.

A Grate fixed wth cheeks. Keeper. Shovel.

Tongs and Poker.

IN THE CHURCH PORCH AND YARD.

A Large Fire Engine Gift of S^r Hans Sloane, Pipes, &c.

1750 { A small^r Do. and Leather Pipes (Gift of Mr. And^r. Millar of
London Bookseller) to this Parish in consideration of being
admitted to erect a Burial Vault in the New Burial Ground.
18 Leather Water-Buckets.

THOS. KINNARD }
EDW^d. ANDERSON } Churchwardens.

(These were churchwardens in the year commencing Easter 1751 only.)

The books given by Sir Hans Sloane are now chained to a desk against the south wall, at the west end of the Church, designed by the late H. H. Burnell, F.S.A. The Bible is Baskett's edition of 1717, which is known as the "Vinegar Bible," from a misprint in the running title. On either side of the Bible are Volumes I. and III. only of the ninth edition of "Fox's Martyrs" (London, 1684). The book of "Homilies" is dated 1683, and the Prayer Book 1723. The former is inscribed on the title "J. Trelawny," and was probably given to Sloane by Sir Jonathan Trelawny, who came into residence at Chelsea as Bishop of Winchester in 1707.

THE ORGAN.

There is an entry in the Vestry Minute Book in 1746, to the effect that the parishioners were desired to meet and fix upon a proper place in the Church for an organ. There is no evidence to show that anything resulted from the meeting, and it was not until 1818 that, at a Public Vestry, an Organ Committee was formed, Mr. Luke Flood being Treasurer, and it was unanimously resolved: "That this meeting sensibly feels the propriety as well as necessity of an organ being placed

CHURCH GOODS AND FURNITURE 35

in the Parochial Church, sacred music tending greatly during Divine worship to inspire the mind with devotion, and to increase that solemnity which is so desirable in our excellent Church service."

Shortly afterwards a letter was read to the committee from a Mr. Few, of Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, offering an organ that was built eight years ago by Mr. Bevington. This was bought for £200, and was duly placed in the Church by Bevington.

In the competition which was advertised for an organist, John Goss was a candidate, but only secured a second place, with 196 votes against 209.

The four flags which are affixed to the upper part of the east wall of the nave are all that remain out of many more which were deposited in the Church in the year 1814. Their story is told in an inscription written upon a large wooden panel which is placed against the south wall of the porch. It is as follows :

"THE BANNERS PRESENTED
by Her MAJESTY QUEEN CHARLOTTE,
to Her own ROYAL REGIMENT of
VOLUNTEERS on the 3rd Day of January 1804,
at a time when the Country was threatened
with INVASION, by an Inveterate Enemy,
Are deposited by them in this CHURCH
in the year 1814, as a memorial of Her most
Gracious Favor to the INHABITANTS of this
PARISH, for their Zeal, Loyalty, & Patriotism.
JOHN ROLLS }
JOS^r. WAY } Churchwardens."

The present font is probably the one referred to in the following entry in the register :

"1673. Luke the son of Thomas Gough was Baptized the 22nd of December, and was the First that was baptized in the new Font given by Mr. Edward Bringhurst."

CHAPTER III

THE VILLAGE OF CHELSEA

"THE first place that offers itself beyond the verge of the Bills of Mortality towards the West," wrote Bowack in 1705, "is Chelsea, a Town sweetly situated upon a rising gravelly ground, on the North Banks of the Thames, adorned with a handsome Church and several stately piles of buildings . . . and celebrated for the residence of many of the nobility and gentry." "The many honourable worthy inhabitants," he continues, in another sentence, "being not more remarkable for their Titles, Estates, Employments, or abilities, than for their extraordinary civility and condescension and their kind and facetious Tempers, living in a perfect amity among themselves. . . ."

So charming, indeed, is the picture of Chelsea at this time, when it was becoming a popular resort, and so much of its fame belongs to the two succeeding centuries, that the story of its development under the Tudors and the Stuarts, from a little waterside parish into "The Village of Palaces," has had but scant attention from either writers or readers. The glories of the Royal Hospital, the Porcelain Works, the Bun House, the Physick Garden, Ranelagh, and Cheyne Walk, have filled many a page of gossip; while of the Church, with its hundred monuments of earlier days, in which the real interest of this extraordinary parish is centred, no serious study has hitherto been attempted.

I must therefore preface my descriptions of these monuments, to which the remaining chapters are devoted, with a rough sketch of the history of the village, and a short account of the circumstances under which so many illustrious and interesting people were attracted to it.

It is now generally admitted that Chelsea was the *locus celebr* of the Saxon Chronicle, where Pope Adrian's legates held a synod, about the year 785. In the British Museum is a charter of Edward the Confessor, confirming the Manor of Cealchylle with all its rights and appurtenances, land and water, wood and field, meadow and pasture, pannage and fruit, and other emoluments, as fully and freely as it was held by Thurstan the governor of his palace, together with every third tree, and a third of the fruit growing in his wood of Kyngesbyrig.

This charter, whatever may be said of the genuineness of the actual document, appears to have served the Abbey as their title to the Manor, whose profits they enjoyed until, about the middle of the twelfth century, Abbot Gervas, a natural son of King Stephen, granted it to his mother Dameta at a fee farm rent of £4. This rent, as also the advowson, the Abbey retained until, in 1536, it was purchased of them by Henry VIII. shortly after he had acquired the beneficial interest in the Manor from its then owner, Lord Sandes.

To the privilege of taking one-third of the wood and fruit from "Kingesbyrig," we may trace the origin of the land now called "Kensal Town" being included in the parish of Chelsea, if the conjecture be allowed that a partition of this wood was made at some early period. This land is first mentioned in the Particular of the Manor drawn up in 1548 (*see* Appendix B) as having been leased by Lord Sandes to Henry White, and is described as four fields called Darkyngbysshes, Homefield, Balserfield, and Bandilands.

Of the inhabitants of Chelsea prior to the acquisition of the Manor by Sir Reginald Bray in 1485 the Church contains no record, save the remains of a couple of monuments which are of no particular interest. If any older monuments ever existed they must have disappeared before 1631, the date of Weever's "Funeral Monuments." Little indeed is known of Chelsea before Sir Thomas More settled there about the year 1524. At that time the Manor had passed to Sir William Sandes in right of his wife Margery Bray, the only other notable residents, so far as is known, being the Earl of Shrewsbury and John Mewtes, "Secretary of the French Tongue" (Brewer's

State Papers, vol. iii.). In 1519 Mewtes was appointed Commissioner to search for suspected persons in Chelsea and the neighbourhood, and certified that at Chelsea no body lodged but two servants of my Lord Steward [Shrewsbury] sent to clean the place, and in a barn a beggar and his wife. At Knightsbridge was an old man at the sign of the Rose.

Within the next twelve years a remarkable change had taken place in Chelsea; for by the attainder of More, and by the purchase of the Manor from Sandes, the King became the owner of practically the entire parish. While a few years later, namely in 1543, he purchased "the Magpie" and the forty acres comprised in the last item of the "Particular" above mentioned.

The effect of this was twofold. On the one hand More's estate, which comprised almost the whole of the land lying to the west of Church Lane, was committed to the charge of Pawlet, afterwards Marquis of Winchester; on the other hand, the old Manor House was superseded by a palace built by the King, which remained in the Crown for over a century. Its last occupant, as Lord of the Manor, was Sir Hans Sloane.

Until the end of the sixteenth century the only interments which are of any interest were from these three mansions, namely the Palace, the old Manor House, and More's. In the reign of James I., however, further changes occurred, for in 1616 More's estate came into the possession of Sir Arthur Gorges, who sold the great house, having built another, near to it, for himself, and leased the Farm (now Lindsey Row) to Sir Edward Cecil. About the same time Sir John Danvers settled in Chelsea, and rebuilt an older house on a great scale; while Sir Robert Stanley made a residence of "Brickhills," now Stanley Grove. In 1635 the Boevey family built a mansion at Little Chelsea, which was afterwards known as Shaftesbury House, while Sir Edward Powell was at the Arch House, at the south-west corner of Church Lane, and the Earl of Devonshire at Shrewsbury House. The Old Manor House was in possession of the Lawrences.

Turning to the Survey on the opposite page, and comparing it with a modern map of Chelsea, we may now glance at the sites of these

houses (only one of which is still standing) and the lands belonging to them, leaving the data, upon which this sketch is based, for consideration in the subsequent chapters. A word of explanation is first necessary, however, with regard to this survey, which is here reproduced from Faulkner's "History of Chelsea." That it is based upon a survey by Hamilton is probable; but it is quite evident that Faulkner took it from Dr. King's MS. book, in which it appears piecemeal, each portion being accompanied by notes, probably made about the year 1705. Now some of the portions were carefully filled in, but others were merely outlined by Dr. King, so that it is by no means a complete map of the parish at that date as might be supposed from its title, and many houses which were undoubtedly in existence at that date are not marked upon it. So far as it goes, however, it is of the greatest value, in spite of its being by an unskilled hand, as no other map is known to exist of anything approaching so early a date.

Commencing at the western boundary of the parish, we find Stanley House on the north side of the King's Road, which was Sir Arthur Gorges' "Brickhills," occupied by his son-in-law, Sir Robert Stanley. The "West Field," on the opposite side of the road, I believe to be identical with the land purchased by Henry VIII. (apart from the Manor) from Henry White, which was known later as "Evans' Farm." There was no house upon it of any importance before Lord Cremorne's. The south-west portion was separate, being known as "The Lots." East of this is the plot of about fifteen acres, traversed by "the way between the pales" (now World's End Passage) and including the bowling-green and "Priest's Close," which constituted the original glebe land, and was acquired by Pawlet, in 1566, by exchange for a portion of the present glebe. The house marked upon it was perhaps the old Rectory.

North of this, on the other side of the King's Road, is a large plot, which is left blank, although in Dr. King's time the northern part of it was occupied by Shaftesbury House, and several smaller ones which comprised "Little Chelsea." The western portion of this, and the smaller plot to the west of it marked "Wrench's garden," were no

doubt part of More's land, and the lane between them the "footway leading from the Queen's private road through Sir Arthur Gorges' field to Little Chelsea," for obstructing which John Burchett was amerced in 1708 (Faulkner, vol. i. p. 42). The eastern portion, about twenty-five acres, appears to have been part of "Hungerford's Farm."

The "Way to Little Chelsea," on the east side of the old glebe, is now Milman's Row, so called after Sir William Milman, who was the last occupant of Gorges' house, marked as "Priests," on the east side of it; south of this house is the "Earl of Lindsey's," now Lindsey Row. "The Duke of Beaufort's House and Gardens," originally Sir Thomas More's, together with "Dove House Close" and "Lord Wharton's Park," may be seen to better advantage in the view reproduced from Knyff's drawing. "Lord Wharton's Garden" came to him through his wife, a granddaughter of Sir John Danvers, whose house stood at the southern end of it.

The gap on the north side of the double row of houses along the waterside is the beginning of Danvers Street, that on the south side the Ferry. As several of the houses on either side of this row enjoyed right of common, it may be concluded that it was one of the oldest portions of the village. The western end of it, indeed, may be seen in the plan of Chelsea House (see chap. vi.), which was drawn in 1595. In later times the western half was called Duke Street, the eastern Lombard Street. In 1872 the whole of the southern side was demolished to make way for the Embankment. The archway, shown in the frontispiece, which joined the houses at the east end of Lombard Street, is not shown on the Survey; but as Dr. King mentions it in a letter dated 1716, there is no doubt that it existed at that date. It seems probable, as I shall show, that it was built by Sir Edward Powell, who owned the house at the corner of Church Lane, the northern portion of which was known later as the White Horse Inn.

Lawrence Street, the first opening on to the waterside east of the Church, was built at about the same date as Danvers Street, on the site of the old Manor House and grounds. At the south-east corner was the Lordship Yard, a most baffling site to the topographer. Speaking generally—for to sift all the evidence would fill a good many

pages—I have no doubt that this was the site of the Manor Farm, the “farm house in Ldship Yard” mentioned in Dr. King’s MS. as enjoying common for six cows, which I venture to identify, in a later chapter, as “Evans’ Farm.”

At the northern end of Church Lane is shown the Parsonage, on the site of the present Rectory. This was built by Lord Winchester, and exchanged, in 1566, for the old parsonage, as above mentioned. On the opposite side of the lane, at the corner of the King’s Road, was originally “Hungerford’s Farm.”

The “Bowling Green,” shown to the east of Lawrence Street, must have been delineated before 1708, at which date the second Lord Cheyne converted it into “Cheyne Row,” opening on to the water-side. The house at the south-east corner was “The Prince’s Arms” or “The Feathers,” of sufficient antiquity to have right of common. Adjoining this, on the east, was the “Three Tuns,” next to which was Shrewsbury House. Then came the “Magpie,” another freehold with right of common, which has recently been rebuilt as No. 37 Cheyne Walk. Adjoining the “Magpie” on the east were two or three small houses, next to which stood Winchester Palace, a brick house built by the Duke of Hamilton about the year 1650, and purchased for the see of Winchester in 1664.

The New Manor House extended eastwards along the waterside as far as Queen’s House, the eastern portion of Cheyne Walk being built in 1717, on the southern edge of the “Great Garden” shown on the Survey. East of the great garden is shown the present Flood Street, formerly called Pound Lane, and at a later date Robinson’s Lane. At the south-east corner is “Lady Radnor’s,” a house devised by the first Lord Cheyne to his second wife, who was the widow of the Earl of Radnor.

A peculiar feature of Chelsea, and one to which its distinction may be in part attributed, is its seclusion. Even at the present date there is no railway-station in the parish. Chelsea Station, so called, lies beyond its western boundary, and the West Bourne, flowing through the Serpentine, and under Knightsbridge, which divides Chelsea from Westminster, is now carried over Sloane Square Station in a pipe.

The omnibus, which I believe originated in Chelsea, still enjoys a monopoly there. Narcissus Luttrell, in the early part of the eighteenth century, went to London in his neighbour Will Hooper's coach. And Swift, in 1711, "Went by water to Mr. Harley's," or walked. On one occasion "My Lord Oxford set me down at a coffee house, where I waited for the Dean of Carlisle's (Atterbury's) chariot to bring me to Chelsea; for it has rained prodigiously all this afternoon. The Dean did not come, but sent me his chariot, which has cost me two shillings to the coachman; and so I am got home; and the Lord knows what is become of Patrick." (Journal to Stella.)

In earlier days the river was the highway to London; and when Elizabeth "rode abroad accompanied with the Scottish Ambassador," she must have arrived at the Earl of Lincoln's by way of the Fulham Road, turning down Church Lane, where her elm was standing. The King's Road, now the main thoroughfare in Chelsea, takes its name from Charles II., and was not dedicated until 1719. The recital of its earlier history in a petition, quoted by Faulkner, aptly touches the bare outline above sketched.

"To the Right Honourable the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury, the Address of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart., Lord of the Manor of Chelsea, and other Freeholders, concerning the King's Private Road, humbly sheweth:—

"That before the Restoration of King Charles the Second, and some time after, the fields of Chelsea were open fields; and that the bridge called Bloody Bridge [on the east side of Sloane Square] was only a foot-bridge, with a plank, or board; and the way leading thence to the lane facing Blacklands House, was then only a footpath of about five feet wide; and the lands on each side were ploughed and sowed close up to the same; and that, from the said lane to the town gate, was only a baulk, or head-land, of about ten or twelve feet broad, or thereabouts; and the lands on each side of the said head-lands were also ploughed up to the edges thereof; and that the said head-land was used by the owners and occupiers of the said lands, for a way, egress and regress, to their lands, with ploughs, and other utensils of husbandry, and to carry off their crops from their lands,



CHELSEA FROM THE BATTERSEA SHORE, c. 1770.

From a water-colour drawing belonging to Randall Davies.

time out of mind. That some time after the restoration, King Charles the Second built Bloody Bridge, as it now stands ; and, as we are informed, agreed with the then Lord of the Manor, and others concerned, for the said head-land, for his Majesty's private road, allowing the freeholders their ancient way through the same. Whereupon the King made the road with gravel, and the landholders ditched out their land on each side of the same ; and the King took upon him the repair of the gate at the town end (which was before maintained by the parishioners) and as soon as the fields were sown, [it] was hung up and shut, and, after harvest, was always open until seed time returned again, as many yet alive will remember. And, ever since, the landholders of the said parish have been in possession of a free way and passage to their lands, through the said road (some persons having no other way), and were never denied it during the reigns of King Charles the Second, King James, King William, and Queen Anne, as we can make appear by sufficient evidence. Now, whereas upon his present Majesty's repairing the said road, the present Surveyor General has ordained the gates to be shut against the landholders of Chelsea, to their great detriment, and, as we conceive, to the debarring them of their right, we humbly beg your Lordships will take the matter into your consideration, hear our evidence, and grant us such relief as in your great wisdom you shall think fit. That the late Duchess Dowager of Beaufort (to whose stables and offices there is no other way) about five or six years ago, ordered her stewards and servants to cut down a turnpike which Mr. Manby, the Surveyor General, had set up between the walls at the corner next Church Lane ; and they carried the posts away, being set up, as she said, upon her ground."

CHAPTER IV

THE MANOR HOUSE

FROM the middle of the twelfth century, when Gervas, Abbot of Westminster, parted with the beneficial interest in the Manor of Chelsea for a fee farm rent of £4, down to the close of the fifteenth, when it was granted to Sir Reginald Bray, its owners have left no trace in Chelsea except the bare records of a few conveyances, most of which are preserved amongst the "Feet of Fines," of which a calendar was published by the Middlesex Record Society in 1892. In 1196 Ralph de Septem Fontibus sold a virgate of land in Chelchud to Richard son of Edward ; while nearly a century later, namely in 1280, another Ralph de Septem Fontibus conveyed the Manor of Chilcheth to Laurence de Septem Fontibus. In 1315, Cecilia, wife of Richard de Heyle, daughter of Ralph and co-heiress of her brother Thomas de Septem Fontibus, deceased, was awarded in a partition of his lands the Manor [of Chelsea] and lands there called Kingsholt. Richard de Heyle died in the same year, when Cecilia his widow levied a fine on her son Richard for the Manor of Chilchethe. In 1345 Richard de Heyle was still "Lord of Chelchith" (Esch. 18 Ed. III.). In 1368 Robert de Heyle leased the whole Manor, except Westbourne and Kingsholt, to the Abbey of Westminster, for the term of his life, for which they were to allow him a certain house within the convent for his residence, two white loaves and two flagons of convent ale a day, and a robe of esquire's silk and £20 every year. (Claus. 41 Ed. III. m. 16.)

The next conveyance of the Manor recorded in the "Feet of Fines" is in 1449, the vendors being John Shordych the elder and his

wife Matilda. And in 1485 another fine was levied by Sir Reginald Bray and others on Robert Shordych, Esq., and his wife Margaret, and George Shordych their son and heir.

By an indenture dated 12 February, 1496, Sir Reginald Bray, having no male issue, and being desirous that his property should continue in the male line, agreed with Sir John Norbury for the marriage of his nephew Edmund, then about thirteen years of age, with Jane Halliwell, Sir John's grand-daughter and presumptive heiress, then an infant. On April 21 in the same year Sir Reginald made a will by which he devised the bulk of his property to Edmund and the heirs male of his body, with remainder over to his niece, Margery, who afterwards married Sir William Sandes. This will was superseded by another dated 4 August, 1503, the day before the testator's death. But by a deed enrolled in Chancery, dated 6 May, 1510, and made between Sir William Sandes and Dame Margery his wife of the one part and Edmund Bray of the other part, which recited that variance and discord had been, and then was, depending between the said parties concerning the right and title to all the manors, etc., whereof Sir Reginald Bray was seized at the time of his death, it was agreed that Sir William Sandes and his wife should have the several estates therein enumerated, amongst which was the Manor of Chelsea.*

The earliest interment from the Manor House which is recorded is that of John Bray, brother of Sir Reginald and father of Edmund Lord Bray, who mentions it in his will, which is as follows :—

“In the name of God Amen the eighteenth day of October in the yere of our Lord God ye MDXXXIXth Sir Edmund Bray Knyght Lord Bray being sicke in bodie but whole in mynd and of good remembraunce lauded be God do make and ordeyne my last wylle and Testament in maner and forme folowing that is to saye First I bequeath my soule to Almighty God my bodie to be buried at Chelsey besides the Sepulture of John Bray Esquier Item I will my Executors or executor bestowe aboute my buryall to poore people and other thengs necessarie fourtie markes Item I will that my executor or

* See Dugdale's MSS. addition to the “Baronage,” and Lipscomb's “History of Buckinghamshire,” vol. iii. p. 417.

executors pay alle my detts that I do owe to any persone or persones So it canne be lawfully proved before the feaste of Saint Mychell the Archangell next after the date of this present wille Item I wille that any of my household servants have his quarters wage Item I forgeve all the world of all Iniuries and wronges that hath bynn doone to me except detts and coveñnts and I aske all the world forgevenes of all iniuries and wronges that I have done to any p̄sone or persones and also I desire all the world to pray for me. The residue of my goodes not bequeathed I will they be bestowed according to the descretion of my ladie Jane nowe my wyffe whome I make my soule executrix." In witness, etc.

It may be presumed, then, that John Bray was buried in Chelsea Church between 1503 and 1510, while the Manor was in possession of his son. The "ancient altar tomb without any inscription," mentioned by Lysons as being on the north side of the chancel, was removed to its present position in 1857, when the recess in the north wall was made for it. Weever in his "Funeral Monuments" published in 1631 (p. 523) has preserved the following fragment of an inscription, which was probably engraved on a brass fillet of which the matrix may still be seen on the edge of the slab of this altar tomb.

"Of your charitie pray for the soul of Edmund Bray, Knight, Lord Bray, cosin and heire to Sir Reignold Bray, Knight of the Garter . . . "

Weever adds, "His brother Reignold Bray Esquire, lieth buried by him, but their monuments are so defaced that I can find no further remembrance, neither of their lives, nor of the time of their death."

John, second Lord Bray, only son of Edmund, was buried at Chelsea, having died at Blackfriars on 18 November, 1557, from wounds received at the battle of St. Quentin. An account of his funeral, which is preserved at the College of Arms, is printed in Appendix (A).

Faulkner gives two coloured woodcuts of the effigies of the Lords Bray, but without any comment on them in the text; and I find that the same cuts, though without the colouring, had already done duty for the brasses (now lost) of Sir Samson Norton, and Sir William Butt, in his History of Fulham, published in 1812. In justice to Faulkner, I

should add that they do belong to Fulham, being rather clumsy reproductions from a plate in J. T. Smith's "Antiquities of London and Environs" published in 1791, which is inscribed "Done from the Brass Plates in Fulham Church which are without inscription."

In 1510, as we have seen, the Manor came into the possession of Sandes, in right of his wife. In Appendix B will be found mentioned his lease of the old Manor House to Keyle, from which it may be inferred that he did not long reside in Chelsea. Of his daughter Ursula, who married first James Barnard, and secondly Thomas Hungerford, I shall have more to say in a later chapter.

In 1536 Sandes sold the Manor to the King, who had been a frequent visitor at Chelsea in the early days of More's settling there. "For the pleasure he took in his company," says Roper, "would his Grace sodenly sometymes come home to his house at Chelsie to be merry with him." The conveyance is dated 28 May, 1536,—the year following More's attainder,—while a month earlier Pawlet had been granted the custody of More's house at Chelsea; circumstances which, perhaps, may lend a greater interest to Wriothesley's statement that on the 20th of May in the same year "the King was married secretlie at Chelsey in Middlesex to one Jane Seymor."

In Gairdner's Calendar of State Papers I find the following note in 1539.

Sir Francis Bryan to be keeper of the Chief Messuage of the Manor of Chelsey which Manor the King lately had from Lord Sandes, and of the garden and orchard there, and bailiff of the Manor there, and other lands which the King had from Lord Sandes with 2^d a day in each office, to date from Michaelmas 28 Hen. 8, since which date Sir Francis has filled these offices without fee.

This grant was confirmed to Bryan for his life by Patent (31 Hen. VIII. pt. 5, Feb. 20).

Meantime the King's new Manor House was in progress, and the laying out of the "great garden" delineated on Dr. King's Map. No trace of the house now remains, and so carelessly is it delineated by Dr. King, that its site is not easy to identify with exactness. It appears to have stood not far from the river between the Magpie (now No. 37 Cheyne Walk) and Queen's House. Amongst the Bridgewater MSS.

is an assignment, dated 22 Nov. 1671, by Edward Cox to Joan Gunnill, of a mortgage by J. Hyrne [Hearne] of two messuages adjoining west to the house commonly called the Pye, and east to the house then or late in the possession of Dame Dudley Lane. Winchester Palace, which stood immediately to the west of the Manor House, must therefore have occupied a site not further west than Oakley Street.

Amongst the Duke of Manchester's MSS. is a warrant dated 31 January, 1536-7, to pay £2000 to Anthony Denny to be employed upon buildings at the King's Manors of Westminster, Chelsea and Hackney. (Hist. MSS. Com.) In Gairdner's Calendar is this note dated November, 1538, "delivered to the King's gardener for his garden at Chelsea all such bays, rosemary, grafts, &c., as were meet for his Grace's garden." While in the Royal Roll 14 B at the British Museum is the following, apparently of about the same date :—

CHELLSAYE.

Garthenerse there xxix	xiiij ^l xvij ^s iiij ^d
Women Wederse vi	xvij ^s
Cherytrees xx ffylberdetrees v	vij ^s viij ^d
Damson Trees v Red peyeche trees ij	ij ^s iiij ^d
Caryage of the same Trees	x ^d
Plantes of Damaske Roses cc	ij ^s
Setts of Whytethorne xi	iiij ^l xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Setts of prevett lxiiij	xvj ^l
paryng shovells ij	xx ^d

In Appendix B will be found the "Perticular Book of the Manor," which is printed by Faulkner as of the date 1544. As a matter of fact this cannot be earlier than the end of 1548, as its title denotes that Queen Catherine Parr was lately dead; though it is stated in a note at the end that it was made from the account of 1543. "The Manor," says Lysons, "was a part of the jointure of Queen Catherine Parr, who resided at Chelsea with her second husband Thomas Seymour, the Lord Admiral. Some of her letters, dated from Chelsea anno 1548,

are printed amongst the Burleigh Papers, in which Collection there is a curious account of the Lord Admiral's familiar behaviour towards the Princess Elizabeth, then about fourteen years of age; and residing at Chelsea under the care of the Queen Dowager."

In this "Particular Book" are mentioned the lands in Chelsea which Henry repurchased from Robert White in 1543, and the lease to Henry White of the fields at Nutting Barns. Also Sandes' lease of the Old Manor House to Keyle, who assigned it to Richard Jarvis, whose monument I shall describe in a later chapter. In 1557 the old house was sold out and out, and was, some thirty years later, acquired by the Lawrences. (See chap. xi.)

In 1553 the Manor was granted by Edward VI. to John Dudley Duke of Northumberland and Jane his Duchess, in exchange for the Manor of Tunbridge; and although the Duke's property was forfeited on his attainder it appears that his widow was permitted to continue at Chelsea,—for she died there on 22 January, 1555–6, and was buried in the Church on 1 February, following.

Her monument, which stands in the south-east corner of the More Chapel, is similar in design to that erected, some years earlier, to Chaucer, in Westminster Abbey. It consisted originally of an altar tomb set under a canopied recess: the side-walls of this recess were fronted by small columns, carved with a reticulated pattern, which supported the ends of the canopy; and were panelled on the inside in two storeys of shallow cusped arches. The roof was richly groined, the ribs springing from four pendant bosses. The back of the recess was divided into three compartments by small graduated buttresses which sprang from the moulding immediately above the altar tomb.

The altar tomb and the canopy have been removed, and the recess has been fitted with woodwork, for a pew. The ends of the pendant bosses in the roof have been knocked off; so that Faulkner could, quaintly enough, mistake them for the capitals of pillars intended to support the roof of the canopy, "whose bases rested on the altar tomb as on a plinth."

Faulkner gives a coloured plate of the monument, showing both the canopy and the altar tomb. In detail this plate is most inaccurate; and

it may easily be seen on examining the monument that the altar tomb, as in Chaucer's monument, did not occupy the whole width of the recess as is shown in Faulkner's plate.

Upon a tablet of alabaster affixed to the back of the recess in the centre compartment is cut this inscription :

HERE LYETH YE RIGHT NOBLE AND EXELLENT PRYNCES
 LADY JANE GUYLDEFORD LATE DUCHES OF NORTHV-
 MBERLAND DAUGHTER AND SOLE HEYRE VNTO YE RIGHT
 HONORABLE SR EDWARD GUYLDEFORD KNIGHT LORD
 WARDEYN OF YE FYVE PORTES YE WHICH SR EDWARD
 WAS SONNE TO YE RIGHT HONORABLE SR RICHARD
 GUYLDEFORD SOMETYMES KNIGHT AND COMPA-
 NION OF YE MOST NOBLE ORDRE OF YE GARTOR AND
 THE SAID DVCHES WAS WYFE TO THE RIGHT HIGH
 AND MIGHTY PRINCE IOHN DVDLEY LATE DVKE
 OF NORTHVMBERLAND BY WHOME SHE HAD YSSEW
 XIII CHILDREN THAT IS TO WETE VIII SONNES AND
 V DAWGHTERS & AFTER SHE HAD LYVED YERES
 XLVI SHE DEPARTED THIS TRANSITORY WORLD AT
 HER MANER OF CHELSE YE 22 DAYE OF JANVARY IN
 YE SECOND YERE OF YE REIGNE OF OWR SO
 VEREYNE LADY QVENE MARY THE
 FIRST AND IN A^O MDLV ON
 WHOSE SOVL IESV HAVE M^RCY

Above this epitaph is fixed a brass plate engraved with the arms, encircled by a garter, of the Duchess' father, Sir Edward Guyldeford of Hempstead in Kent. These arms are Quarterly 1 and 4, or, a saltier between 4 martlets sable, for Guyldeford. 2 and 3, argent, a bend engrailed gules and a chief sable, for Halden.

On the dexter side of the epitaph is another brass plate engraved with Sir Edward Guyldford's arms impaling those of his wife, Eleanor daughter of Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, and his wife Elizabeth sister and heiress of John Mortimer of Mortimer's Hall,* namely, Quarterly 1. argent, a fesse dauncettée sable, for West. 2. quarterly 1 and 4, gules, a lion rampant within an orle of cross crosslets fitchée, for la Warr. 2 and 3, azure, 3 leopards heads jessant lis argent, for

* MSS. Additions to Dugdale's Baronage, Collect. Top. & Gen. vol. ii. p. 193.

Cantelupe. 3. azure 3 bars, or, an inescutcheon argent, on a chief between two cantons party per bend or and argent dexter and sinister, as many pallets, for Mortimer. 4. Gules, 3 bendlets enhanced, or; for Grelle.

On the sinister side is the matrix of another shield, now lost. This shield, however, is shown in a drawing which has lately been acquired by the Chelsea Public Library. It is lozenge-shaped, and is surmounted by a ducal coronet and bears the Duchess' arms.

In the dexter compartment of the back of the recess is a fillet of brass, inscribed with the names of the Duchess' eight sons; beneath which is a matrix, which was originally filled by a plate engraved with their effigies. These effigies were represented kneeling towards the centre of the monument; so it happens that the first name on the fillet is that of the youngest instead of the eldest son, thus:—

Charles, Harry, Gifford, Robert, Ambrose, John, Thomas & Harry.

In the opposite compartment is a brass plate engraved with the effigies of the Duchess, kneeling upon a cushion, and her five daughters kneeling behind her, whose names are inscribed upon a fillet:

Mary, Margaret, Katerin, Kat'yn, Temperance.

The Duchess is habited in a mantle, emblazoned with her arms. marshalled thus:—

1. Guyldford quartering Halden. 2. West. 3. La Warr. 4. Cantilupe. 5. Mortimer. 6. Grelle. This mantle and the two shields already mentioned are enamelled with their proper tinctures.

Jane, Duchess of Northumberland, was the only child and heiress of Sir Edward Guildford, and on his death she was made a ward of Sir John Dudley, to whom she was afterwards married. Of Dudley, Sir Robert Naunton,* observes that "his father was that Dudley which our histories couple with Empson; and both so much infamed for the Caterpillars of the Commonwealth, during the reign of Henry the seventh; who being a noble extract, was executed the first year of Henry the eighth, but not thereby so extinct but that he left a plentiful estate, and such a son who (as the vulgar speaks it) could live without the teat; for out of the ashes of his father's infamy, he rose to be a

* "Fragmenta Regalia," sub Leicester.

Duke, and as high as subjection could permit, or Sovereignty endure : and though he could not find out any appellation to assume the Crown in his own person, yet he projected, and very nearly effected it for his son Guildford by intermarriage of the Lady Jane Grey."

Some account of the Duchess and her children is given in Collins' "Memoirs of the Sidneys," together with a copy of her will, which begins thus :—

"Here folowith my laste Willand Testament, wrytten with myn owen Hande being perfytt in memory in the yere of our Lord MDLIV. In the name of the Father the Sonne and the Holy Goost. Amen. First I bequeathe my Soule unto Almighty God, and my Bodye unto the Yearth and to be buried in the Parishe Church of the House where I dye without any Solempnitie for my Will is rather to have my Debtes paide and my children and servaunts considered than my Bodye that is but meate of wormes so that my charge to mine Executors is that after I am departed from this worlde I will have no Cerymony of Openyng but after I am cold let me be wounde up in a Shete and put into a Coffyn of woode and so layde into the Grounde with such Funerals as parteyneth to the Buriall of a corse"

Notwithstanding this charge, the funeral was accompanied with some pomp, as appears by the following account quoted in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.

"Feb. 1 was buried the Duchess of Northumberland at Chelsey, where she lived, with a goodly hearse of wax and pensils, and escutcheons : two banners of arms, and four banners of images, two heralds of arms with many mourners. There was a majesty and the vallans : and six dozen of torches, and two white branches : and all the Church hung in black and arms : and a canopy borne over her to Church."

Of the thirteen children portrayed upon the monument the briefest mention will suffice here. Harry was killed at the siege of Boulogne. Thomas and Charles died infants. John, styled Earl of Warwick, died at Penshurst in 1554. Ambrose was created Earl of Warwick ; Robert, Earl of Leicester. Guildford was the husband of Lady Jane Grey. Harry (the younger) was slain at St. Quentin. Three of the daughters

died young. Mary married Sir Henry Sidney, and was the mother of Sir Philip Sidney.

Catherine married Henry 3rd Earl of Huntingdon and is the only one of this remarkable family who is buried here. A slab of marble which is shown, in the drawing above mentioned, as being let into the top of the sarcophagus of the Duchess' monument, but which is now affixed to the east wall of the chapel, has this inscription :—

CATHERINE

Countess of Huntingdon, 2^d
daughter of John late Duke
of Northumberland, dyed
without Yssue, May y^e 2^d 1620
Aged 72 & is below Inter'd
by her Mother.

The next occupant of the Manor House appears to have been Anne of Cleves, who, according to a Manuscript at the College of Arms (I. XV. fol. 232) died, "at the King and Quene's Majesty's place of Chelsey beside London," on 16 July, 1556. An account of the funeral procession to Westminster, where she was buried on August 3, is recorded in the diary of Henry Machyn, which was printed by the Camden Society in 1847 (vol. 42). Her neighbour, "My lade of Wynchester" was the "cheffe morner."

Three years later the whole of the Manor was leased, by Elizabeth, to Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope, and widow of the Protector, Seymour, Duke of Somerset, for her life, at a yearly rent of £13 6s. 8d. (Pat. 2 Eliz. pt. 12, July 3). This grant specifically mentions the advowson of the Church ; but although there were no less than four presentations during her tenure, the Duchess appears to have exercised her right only in the case of the third ; namely, that of Dr. Thomas Browne, in 1574.

Within a year of the Duchess' death, which happened in 1587, the Queen renewed the grant on the same terms to her kinsman, Sir John Stanhope, who was afterwards created Lord Stanhope of Harrington

(Pat. 30 Eliz. pt. 12, Apr. 5). The following entries in the Chelsea Register relate to him:

Johannes Stanhope Armiger et Margarita Mackwilliams
alias Cheecke traxerunt matrimonium 6^o die Maii ano dñi 1589
et Regni Elizabeth: 31, R. Ward Rect.

1593 Elizabeth filia Johis Stanhope arm̃ri et Margaritae
uxoris ejus baptizata erat 14^o Augustij.

1595 Charolus filius Joh^s Stanhope Arm̃ri April 27
(baptized).

It is probable, as Lysons suggests, that Stanhope soon surrendered the Manor, for it was again granted on the same terms, in 1591, to Catherine, first wife of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, and by virtue of this and some subsequent grants remained in the possession of the Howard family until the year 1639.

There are several entries in the Registers at Chelsea which relate to the Howards. The most interesting is that of the burial of the above-mentioned Catherine Countess of Nottingham, who was the daughter of Henry Cary, Lord Hunsdon.

"Catharyne Countis of Nottingham died the 25 day of Febyryary at Arondell Howse London & buried at Chelsey the 28 day of the same.

"Whose funeralls were honourably kept at Chelsey the 21 day of March 1603.

"And Elizabethe our blessed Quene died at Richmount the 24 day of the same moneth about 2 in the morninge after whom the same day before eight of the clock that most happy and christia kynge James the 6th. of Scotl was in good right by our nobles and state proclaymed James the first of Englande to the admirable peace and comforte of the Realme, whose raigne and prosperitie God contynew in peace with God's truth longe and longe among us."

The accidental opposition, in the entry, of the name of this Countess of Nottingham to that of Elizabeth, recalls the famous

passage which is said to have occurred between them on the death of Essex, and which is given thus in Osborne's traditional "Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth," published in 1658.

"During the criticall minute of the Queen's strongest affection (which was upon Essex his returne from Cales) he had importuned her for some signall token which might assure him that in his absence . . . his enemies . . . should not through their malice or subtlety distresse him or render him lesse or worse deserving in her esteeme : upon this she presented a ring to him; . . . which after she had by oathes indued with a power of freeing him from any danger or distresse his future miscarriage, her anger or enemies' malice could cast him into, she gave it him with a promise, that at the first sight of it all this and more if possible should be granted. After his commitment to the Tower, he sent this jewell to Her Majesty by the then Countesse of Nottingham, whom Sir Robert Cecill kept from delivering it. . . . But the Lady of Nottingham coming to her death bed and finding by the daily sorrow the Queen expressed for the losse of Essex, herself a principall agent in his destruction, could not be at rest till she had discovered all, and humbly implored mercy from God and forgiveness from her earthly Sovereigne : who did not only refuse to give it, but having shook her as she lay in her bed, sent her accompanied with the most fearfull curses to a higher Tribunal . . ."

Not many months after the Countess' death, the Lord Admiral married Lady Margaret Stewart, who is also buried at Chelsea. She was the daughter of James, Earl of Moray, by his wife Elizabeth daughter of James, Earl of Moray, natural son to James V. of Scotland. Writing to the Earl of Shrewsbury from the Court in 1603, Cecil wittily says : "The Earl of Nottingham hath begun the Union for he hath married the Lady Mary Stewart, and came up the morning after to tell the King."

By his first marriage Howard had three sons and three daughters. Of the eldest, William, styled Lord of Effingham, there are the following entries in the Chelsea Register.

Married 1597. Dmñs Willms Howard et Agneta [Ann] St. John filia et haeres Dmñi St. John de Bletsoe 7 February.

Baptized 1605. Anna filia dñi de Effingham & Anna uxor 12 October.

Buried 1615 (no other date). The Lord of Effingham.

Elizabeth, another daughter of Lord Effingham, a famous beauty, who was married to John Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, was buried at Chelsea, as "the Right Hon: the Countess Dowager of Peterborough," on 18 November, 1671.

Elizabeth, the Earl's eldest daughter, married Sir Robert Southwell of Woodrising, in Norfolk; and the following entry probably relates to a child of theirs:

1599-1600. Maria filia dñe Sowthwell sepulta erat 25^o Januarii.

Another entry records her second marriage at Chelsea:

1604. Jhon Stewarte lorde of Orkeney married the La: Elizab: Southwell widow 16^o die Octobris.

To these bare records of the Lord of Effingham, I venture to add the concluding lines of an elegy, occasioned by his death, composed by Richard Corbet, afterwards Bishop of Oxford and later of Norwich, though sometimes attributed to Sir Thomas Overbury:—

"It were too sad to tell thy pedigree,
 Death hath disordered all, misplacing thee;
 Whilst now thy herald, in his line of heirs,
 Blots out thy name, and fills the space with tears.
 And thus hath conquering Death, or Nature rather,
 Made thee preposterous ancient to thy father,
 Who grieves th'art so, and like a glorious light
 Shines o'er thy hearse.

He therefore that would write
 And blaze thee thoroughly, may at once say all,
Here lies the anchor of the admiral."

Of Charles, the Earl's second son, who succeeded his father, there are no records in Chelsea: but his brother James "sone of the most honourable Earl of Nottingham," was buried there on 5 June, 1610.

Frances, the Earl's second daughter, married Henry FitzGerald,

Earl of Kildare. "Elizabeth, the Lord and Countess of Kildare's daughter," was buried at Chelsea on 14 February, 1609-10.

Three children of Howard's second marriage are mentioned, namely, Thomas, buried 5 February, 1616-7; William, baptized 5 December, and buried 7 December, 1617: and Margaret, baptized 22 December, 1618.* The burial of his widow is recorded thus:

1639. "The Right Honourable Margaret Countess of Nottingham died on the 4th day of August in Commun Garden, London and buried heare at Chelsey the 19th day of the same month."

She was remarried to William Lord Monson, Viscount Castlemain.

During the Civil War the Manor was confiscated by the Parliament, and the next occupant of it with whom we are concerned was Charles Cheyne, who purchased it in the year 1657 from the Duke of Hamilton's Trustees.† He is described in the conveyance as of Drayton Beauchamp in the County of Buckingham, Esq. He was the only surviving son of Francis Cheyne of Chesham Bois in that county, by his second wife Anne, daughter of Sir William Fleetwood. His first wife was the Lady Jane Cavendish, daughter and co-heiress of William, first Duke of Newcastle, and it was with a portion of her large fortune that he purchased the Manor. In 1681 he was created Viscount Newhaven, in the Sheriffdom of Edinburgh, and Lord Cheyne. He married secondly Laetitia Isabella widow of John, first Earl of Radnor. He died on 30 June, 1698, and was buried in the Church on 13 July following.

"On the wall of the North Aisle," says Lysons, "is Lady Jane Cheyne's monument, the work of the celebrated Bernini, and said to have cost £500." This information Lysons obtained from Bowack and Faulkner again repeats it. I owe to Lord Ellesmere the pleasure of publishing now, for the first time, the true history of the construction of this monument, which is contained in a series of letters, addressed to Charles Cheyne, preserved among the Bridgewater MSS. at Walkden.

* Howard was born in 1536, and married his second wife in 1603. All I can say about the dates in the paragraph above is that they have been carefully checked with the original entries in the Registers.

† Faulkner, vol. i. pp. 327-30.

The first mention of the monument occurs in a letter, dated Rome, 25 October, 1670, from Edmund Chaloner to his kinsman Charles Cheyne, who says, "Last week I sent you three models of monuments with their prices, which I hope you have ere now received." Again on January 17 following, Chaloner writes: "The model of your monument in wood is now made which in my apprehension shows very noble but ye account of ye several prices and quantity of ye stones which I promised you in my last is not yet made, but Mr. Altham will be pleased to satisfy you in those particulars by ye next post; intending myself to set forward to Venice sometime next week."

On 21 March, 1671, comes the following letter from Altham, which I give in full, save for a few sentences:

"Rome 11/21. March 1671. Edward Altham to Charles Cheyne.

"HONOURED SIR,

"From the occasion of my acquaintance with Mr. Chaloner arriving here in Rome he was pleased to communicate to me two affairs which concern yourself, a tube and a monument . . . neither one nor the other business being effected at his departure his desires were that I would undertake to see both accomplished.

"The monument is already begun and goes on very well having had good fortune to meet with two excellent white marble stones of a likeness, and of the very best sort that comes from Massa di Carara. Of this material is the Basis made, and the Capitelli over the two pillars. The two pillars or columns as they call them here are to be made of an excellent speckled stone tending to red and white, which is called Breccia di Francia. It is costly but much better than an inferior sort of the like stone that is used in Rome. . . .

"There was more than one mistake in the account sent you about the Monument which partly proceeded from the Architect, whose computation made of the expenses was writ you, but he (afterwards 'twas found) was no competent judge, it belonging to the Capo-Maestro of the stone-cutters to understand the exact form and the true expense of the design who would have eight hundred crowns for the making of it as the Architect had designed it, but we brought him to seven hundred



MONUMENT OF LADY JANE CHEYNE

crowns and lower he would not fall. We did make a trial to prove more Capo-Maestros than one, but all were about that price, some above it. In conclusion, I hope to have made a good election of not only two able men but honest likewise as I perceive from the marble they have made choice of. I perceive by what you write Mr. Chaloner that you thought the statue entered into the same account, but it is not so for that belongs to a Sculptor which is here another profession, and if I take one of the best workmen as I persuade myself you will not disapprove of, he will not undertake to do it for less than fifty pistols or thereabouts. I will strive to have it done by the best Master and at the best price as can be possible.

"It would be more acceptable if you send the lineaments of the face, whether long or round, and the portion of nose, lips, forehead, fat or lean, of which in part I am somewhat already informed by Mr. Sanderson, who was both the Lady's kinsman and acquaintance, but shall expect more to that purpose from yourself.

"As I was writing the present, comes to hand one from Mr. Chaloner in Venice of the 14th current, which gives me advice of a mistake of great importance and that there is but fourteen foot height of place in the Chancel where the Monument is to be erected. We received from you notice of twenty foot place, and accordingly the Architect's design was conformable to that space, but how now to accommodate this difference will be somewhat difficult unless the cross upon it be omitted which happily you never intended should be put there as 'twas designed.

. . . "Mr. Chaloner told me that there is a window which is over this monument, and if so I do not apprehend but that the Cross may, if you please, stand some two or three foot in the space of the window, which cannot hinder much the light, but I discourse here at random not understanding the situation of the chancel. The stones being bought most of them, and the workmen engaged, I do not see how to remedy the inconvenience without your loss, if you will not have the design to go on and let the worst come to the worst, some part of the frontispiece being most for ornament of architecture may be omitted, and without any prejudice to the monument be rendered capable to

stand in the compass of fourteen foot, be pleased therefore to send the string or thread in a letter which measures the space.

"These are the sorts of marble that enter into the work, Giallo Antico d'orato, our Mischio di Brecia di Francia for the pillars Bardiglio Bianco e negro anticho, and last of all Cotinello. The Urn will be all black, the feet of it yellow, you need not fear but there will be an excellent accordance of colour, for in this kind Rome has such a variety of different objects as that no nation is more exact in its reflexions than this.

"The price of all will be hard to sum up exactly without danger of mistaking, but I believe it will cost you betwixt two and three hundred pounds. Statue and all, with portage, not much more than the last sum."

Another long letter follows on April 11 :

"Edward Altham to Charles Cheyne. Rome, 1/11 April 1671. Stylo Loci.

"On the tenth of the present current I surveyed the workmen, seven persons being employed, two of which are masters all very active in forwarding the design, some sawing, some cutting, some polishing, and have been thus active for about a month and yet have another month's work before they finish the white marble which partly enters into both sides of the frontispeice, the bases of the pillars, and the bases of the whole monument. I disburse weekly ten crowns, which is three pounds English, to the ordinary workmen, and the masters tell me from henceforward I must spend more if I will have the work dispatched for August next, so that I perceive their design is to set more men at work, wherefore it will be requisite that you remit me more monies as soon as may be . . .

"I reiterate what I formerly writ concerning the window which Mr. Chaloner told me was above, and it be over the place where the monument should stand, and do say supposing some small part of the monument should extend itself some few palms in the light of the window, I cannot conceive it of much prejudice to the Chancel, and to the monument it must be beneficial whose cupola has an open oval figure in the top of it on purpose to receive the light which is to

render the statue (in a reposing posture upon the urn) better visible to spectators.

"The picture enclosed, or draught of the face, came very well conditioned to hand, and well liked by such as have skill to understand things of that nature. The sculptor has seen it, and does not doubt but to imitate its likeness. He is one of the best in Rome at his art and consequently the dearest, a quondam scholar of that famous Vangardy who has immortalised himself in describing the History of Attila when he came to destroy Rome, which is expressed in noble sculpture in white marble set up in the Church of S. Peter's in the days of Pope Innocent the tenth. This artificer is called Antonio Raggi, with whom as yet I am not agreed, he demanding fifty pistols for to make the single statue, and if a small figure of the daughter to the lady be annexed to accompany the statue as we were once thinking of, he will have no less than one hundred and eighty crowns, but that small figure shall not be made till such time as I shall have your approbation for it. I do intend to-morrow to resolve of putting a period to the difference betwixt the artist and myself concerning the price that he may timely finish the statue for the monument that both may be transported together . . .

"The sculptor is of the opinion to follow the style of this country in the habilaments of the figure, and as they are represented in the draught so to form them with necklace, pendants, &c., as if alive, without which ornaments very difficultly can be represented the likeness to acquaintance: against which conception of his I brought this my opinion that the reposing posture of the figure on the urn did not require such a lively representation of the person as being dead or supposed to be upon the bed of languishing, to which he made no reply, but the custom of this place was to make the figure as like as may be."

After this an ingenious excuse for having omitted to place a coronet on the head of the effigy :

"3/13 June 1671.

, . . The dress or drapery of the statue will be such as the best

judgments of artists think fit, for I am not content to have the opinion of one Sculptor, but to take advice of painters concerning this particular who will have the panegiatura, as it is called here, done as much as may be to the life that it may better represent the likeness of the person, but for the crown pendent which you mention, you if you think fit, may have it done there when monument is arrived, for the sense here of the artists (that understand things of this quality) is that the custom of this Church is not to crown any of the saints though canonised and have lamps at their shrines, it being an honour only above the rest due to the Regina Sanctorum Omnium as Mother of God and Queen of Heaven, yet because the Lady was the eldest daughter of a Duke it is very requisite that there should be some sign or token of that honour and worth to accompany the monument, and therefore the artists have thought fit to place a crown at her feet as neglected and not esteemed in her life time ; which if I mistake not is part of your design mentioned in your letter and may prove conformable to your conception, if not altogether, in some measure . . .”

The next letter explains the omission of the effigy of Cheyne's young daughter, who died a few months after her mother :

“ 17/27 June 1671.

“The statue will be in order before the monument, by reason we had no impediment for that as we had for the other, which is so far advanced according to what it was first designed, as that the small figure cannot be annexed as was proposed, and upon mature consideration the artist reputed it better to be single, which lies after this fashion, at length the upper part of the body somewhat upright leaning upon a cushion, the left hand and arm visible reposing upon a book open, the right hand and arm bent towards the breasts in a pious posture, the visage looking upwards from whence the devout soul may be conjectured (by the spectators) was full of expectation and highly concerned in the thoughts of another life. The habilaments are conformable to the dress of the upper part, which is done as much to the likeness of the portrait that was sent as the artist could arrive to. The coronet is carved in a convenient place not far from the

feet. The marble proves excellent and very white, which will appear better to the eye, being to be laid upon an urn of black marble polished, which is to be supported by two yellow marble bases. The frontispiece of the monument will be all white polished marble, the two pillars of speckled marble, white and red, called Breccia di Francia, the Basis of the monument a [illegible] kind of marble, the supporters of the pillars inlaid with a greenish kind of marble which in diverse parts of the frontispiece is inlaid and very delicate. I persuade myself, if it please God that it arrives safe, you will see something that is not of this nature to be paralleled in England. I hope I am not mistaken in making election of the best workmen the City affords, supposing you to be a person of that quality as has been represented to me, and will not think much to pay well to be better served. I can assure you, were it not that this present Pope is no ways inclined to building or sculpture, both statue and monument would have cost a great deal more than now it will . . .”

On August 8, more excuses and explanations are given :

“One of my best polishers is fallen sick which troubles me much, yet I make enquiry after others to supply his place and hope to find one, though with much difficulty, for those of this profession are Neapolitans and come in the winter to Rome, and in the summer return to their country, so that there is a great scarcity at present of such workmen, besides there is also a great monument to be made for Pope Clement the Ninth at S. Maria Maggiore, which all of a sudden is to be finished with great haste, that is the Calamita to draw all sorts of workmen to it, so that whereas we had three saws in motion we have now only one; but it is the last stone of the monument, all the rest being in a readiness to be polished and many of them already polished. The two pillars will be by the next week polished.

“The pillars are whole and rarely checkered with red and white, the mixture is so voyant to the eye as no art could do more than what Nature has done in this, and herein (give me leave to tell you) that you are deservingly fortunate in a masterpiec of Nature to honour the monument of that virtuous lady whom you so singularly seek to honour.

"The statue pleased extremely well spectators, but that is nothing to me unless it pleases you."

So far, there is nothing to contradict Bowack's statement that the tomb was "the work of the celebrated Bernini"—a statement published but seven years after Lord Cheyne's death. On the contrary, the fact that Antonio Raggi was the sculptor would be sufficient to confirm it. It is completely upset, however, by the following extracts from the two succeeding letters, in which Altham stands out for further payments :

"8/18 September 1671.

"To the Architect I cannot give less than ten pistols, having been very sedulous and has followed in this design his uncle's way of architecture, which is to have the stones cut sloping not in a right line which is very difficult."

"9/19 March 1672.

"The Architect is not as yet paid, to whom I cannot think it convenient to give less than ten if not fifteen pistols; he is kinsman to the famous Cavaliere Bernini and his heir besides, and what more imports, an honest man, and one that has been very diligent in over-seeing the monument."

Although the architect is expressly named, it is perfectly clear that he was not "the great Bernini"; and there is little room to doubt he was Paolo, his son; the uncle being Luigi Bernini, who was also a sculptor.

The monument was shipped to England in thirty cases, on 19 October, 1671. But Mr. Altham's troubles were not yet over, nor was his ingenuity exhausted, as is shown by the following extract from his letter, dated 27 August, 1672 :

"The enclosed is part in answer to your last letter to which when I was to give a cover I found something in that of yours unanswered, which was the posture of the figure lying with the feet to the west. The truth is, if in England that custom is not observed, it may seem

somewhat indecent to bring in a contrary custom ; but seeing the situation would not permit it, it may be escaped, and such a small error in a reformed Church will be the easier pardoned, being a step out of the way from antiquity in this nature, will appear nothing in respect of those large strides which the reformists have taken in things of great importance from ancient Church ceremonies. Mr. Challoner, who has been at Geneva, will be of my opinion . . .”

From another document at Walkden, namely, Charles Cheyne's petty cash book, written with his own hand, we get the exact date of the arrival of the monument at Chelsea.

“Monday, 15 January 1671-2. Given to ye laborers about ye stone cases, for drink, two shillings and sixpence.

“Tuesday 17th. Given to ye carpenter Hodges and three more for their paines about ye stone cases thirteen shillings and sixpence.

“Saturday 20th. For three boys for sweeping att Church.

The next thing to be considered was the inscription on the monument, on which point the learned Rector, Dr. Littleton, was consulted. The following is Cheyne's first draft, and the letter which he sent with it to Dr. Littleton :

“Of Ye Truly Right Honourable Pious and Virtuous Lady Jane Cheyne, Eldest Daughter to His Grace William Duke of Newcastle, Wife to Charles Cheyne Esq., present Lord of this Manor of Chelsea, with whom she here lived but few months above fourteen years, by whom she had issue Elizabeth, William and Katherine. This last deceased few months after her mother, who a little before her death gave to this Church ye roof erected since. As she lived so she departed this life patiently and piously to ye eighth day of October 1669 in ye forty-ninth year of her age, and is interred with her daughter Katherine in ye middle vault of ye Chancel of this Church under ye Altar Table.

“This is ye substance I wish rendered as you shall think best after your leisure, and leave to yourself ye whole of every

part as to its plain appearance or dress. Whereto I covet not embroidery, but rather a few words of such value as you think suitable.

"I writ this in haste, and I doubt may send it now too early, but I have not haste of its return to

"Your obliged servant,

"CHARLES CHEYNE."

On the same paper is Littleton's rendering of this in Latin, which, save for a few alterations which I will allude to later, is the same as that painted on the back wall of the monument, as follows :

M. S.

Pientissimae & Sanctissimae Heroinae
Nec tam Avitis Imaginibus quam Proprijs
Virtutibus Inlustris

Dominæ JANAE CHEYNE

Excmi Dni GUILIELMI Ducis de *Novo-Castro*

Filiae ex tribus Natu maximae

CAROLI CHEYNE Armigeri

Conjugis Dilectissimae Desideratissimae

De qua nihil unquam doluit nisi de Mortua

Ex qua tres Optimæ Spei *Liberas* Suscepit

ELIZABETHAM, GUILIELMUM & Venustam Deo *Catharinam*

Intra paucos a morte Matris menses Fato functam

Inter caetera *Charitatis* Opera

Tectum huic *Ecclesiae*

Densis trabium ordinibus compingendum

(Quod jam Deo gratia effectum est)

Paullo ante mortem tanquam ex legato dedit

Vitæ Curriculum qua Pietate & patientia

Transegerat Peregit VIII^o Eid Octob

Anno {
Salutis MDCLXIX
Ætatis XLVIII
Conjugij XV

Quo toto prope tempore hanc viciniam praesens
 Nobilitavit Beavit
 Jacet una cum *Filiola* CATHARINA
 Intra Cancellos in medio Conditorio sepulta
 Sub ipsa Sacra Mensa
 ✕

The variations between the draft and the epitaph itself are trifling, but one amendment is interesting as indicating the date of the completion of the body of the Church, to which I alluded in my first chapter: for the words "uti vides compactum" are altered to "compingendum," and "quod jam Deo gratia effectum est" added. This shows that the roof was not begun till after Lady Jane's death, but was finished by the time the inscription was put in hand.

On the sarcophagus under the figure of Lady Jane is painted the following epitaph of Lord Cheyne:

M. S.
 CAROLI CHEYNE
 Vics comitis de Newhaven in Regno Scotiae et
 hujus Manerij de Chelsey Domini Qui hoc
 Monimentum in Memoria Doⁿⁱ IANAE Conjugis suae
 I^{mae} dilectissimae annos abhinc viginti et novem
 extruxerat Ac Nunc demum Ipse
 (heu nimium cito) demortuus
 Et juxta conjugem suam (pro ut testamento
 suo designaverat) in eodem Conditorio
 Sepultus una cum illa Beatam Resurrectionem
 Oraestolatur. Obij 30^{mo} die Junij
 Anno { Domini 1698
 { Ætatis 78.

On another sheet amongst the Cheyne papers are the following drafts which seem to have been intended for the inscriptions on the

slabs leading to the new vault in the chancel. They are apparently in Charles Cheyne's hand :

Anno Salutis MDCLXIX

M. L. Sacrauit

Fax oro Deus O.M. ut quiete
perfruantur Huic Sepeliendi

Donec omnis Caro

Resurgat

Amen

Amen

"This buriall place was purchased and made by Charles Cheyne Esq for the most dearly Beloved Wife ye most incomparable and pious Lady ye Lady Jane eldest daughter to his Grace William Duke of New Castle who lately deceased lyeth here interred by ye help of whose Portion he became Lord of this Manor of Chelsey and desires that by her he and his may all their appointed times be here likewise interred and rest inviolate till all shall

Arise and come to judgment

"Hereunder an angell with a trumpett to be carved.

"This is ye Body of Mrs. Catherine Cheyne second daughter or Charles Cheyne Esq. ye yett sorrowfull surviving father and of ye Lady Jane Cheyne her late deceased Mother by whom she lyeth here interred. She was aged 11 yeares 4 months and 9 dayes and patiently and piously abiding a sickness of 13 dayes uncertain what to her Physicians shee resigned her spiritt to ye Father of all spiritts ye Righteous God that gave itt and exchanged this mortall life ye 21 March 1669-70."

The words "Charles," "Appointed time," "inviolat till all," are nearly all that are now decipherable on a slab of polished black marble, which lies in the floor of the south aisle, at the west end. The rest has been worn away, indicating that this was not the original site of the slab, to which the following entry in one of the sexton's books

preserved in the muniment room at the New Church, evidently refers :

"1758, Nov. 27. Mr. Edmond Adams buried in Lady Cheyne's vault under the Communion Table. To go into the vault you must take up a flat stone at the bottom of the steps [i.e., the steps leading to the upper chancel], with an inscription on it belonging to the Cheyne family,"

Faulkner prints another Latin inscription (vol. i. p. 218), which he says, "was . . . at the bottom of the chancel, being the entrance to the vault of the Cheyne family." It is as follows :

"In sepulturam Lectissimae Foeminae Conjugis suae dilectissimae Pientissimae Heroinae Dominae Janae Excellentissimi Domini Gulielmi Ducis de Novo Castro Filiae natu maximae Fato non ita pridem functi suumque pariter ipsius & lucrum (Quum mortem oppetierint) subterraneum isthuc cinerum conditorium Carolus Cheyne Armiger Hujusce Manerii de Chelsey (cui emendo dos ampla conjugis subsidium prae-buit) Dominus extruendum curavit et die tertio Kalendarum Novembris Anni Salutis 1669 M. L. Sacravit. Faxis, oro, Deus optime maxime ut quiete perfruaretur heic sepeliendi donec omnis caro resurgat. Amen. Amen."

Without such evidence of their origin, these epitaphs might be passed over as merely conventional : but, as it is, their sincerity gives additional weight to Dr. Littleton's own account of the deceased in the sermon he preached at her funeral. This sermon was preached on All Saints' Day, 1669, upon the text "Favour is deceitful and Beauty is vain : but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised." The conclusion consists of an "acknowledgment of her praises." "The bare relation of her life," says Littleton, "would make the best Panegyrick. I shall gather it up as close as I can that it may be both brief and useful."

"First as to the Principle ; the Candour of Her disposition, the Sweetness of Her Nature ; and the evenness of her Temper, whereof throughout her whole Life she gave Innumerable Demonstrations. And certainly Good Nature (however some Illnatured People, who would pass for the most strictly Religious, may declaim against It and all

Morality) is the best Seed-plot for Piety and all Vertue to thrive in ; the Kindliest Soil for the Fruits of the Spirit, Meekness, Joy, Patience, Gentleness, Long-Suffering, Loving-kindness, etc., which were abundantly seen in all the Instances of her Conversation.

"Now because much of This may seem to be Extracted from the Parents, and by Lineal Descent to be derived from the Family ; (*Fortes creantur Fortibus*, and *Boni Bonis* ; Vertues and Good Qualities likely run in a Blood :) I must so far mention her Pedigree, so as to give the True Blazonry of her Vertues.

"She was Eldest Daughter to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, a Person of no less Excellence in his Merit and in His Nature, than he is in his Title ; One that has been the most Illustrious Example, in all the Three Nations, of an Acting and Suffering Loyalty. To Him, besides His other vast Deserts, the World ow'd this Excellent Lady ; who being powerfully inclin'd by Instinct, and Duty, and Choice, to be like her Noble Father, did so Naturally resemble Him, and so Affectionately imitate Him, that She represented the lively Characters of his Soul as well as Feature.

"Nor must I omit her Pious Mother, a Lady of most Exemplary Charities, from whom She received the first Elements of her Vertuous Education ; and Her noble Grand-mother, the Lady Ogle, whose Darling she was ; who, to this Lady JANE did in her life and at her death give particular testimonies of an extraordinary Affection, which were often gratefully remembered and repeated by Her.

"From these Advantages of Birth, that Natural Principle of Goodness flow'd, which being Inlarg'd by the Moral accessions of Noble Breeding, and Impregnated with Holy Exercises, and the Influence of God's Good Spirit, stream'd into all the Faculties of her Soul ; by which she became the Absolute Governess of Her own Mind.

"She had that command of her Passions, that it might be questioned whether she had Any. Anger and She were so utter Strangers, that the very Expressions of Dislike from Her were Obliging.

"Greatness and Goodness of Mind kept her Soul always in an equal Poise, so that She could never fancy an Injury or an ill-meaning from any one, or be upon any Provocation Exceptions.

"She knew Herself so Innocent and Good, that she deserv'd no Ill, and therefore suspected none ; and withal She was of so Generous and Great a Spirit, that unkindnesses, if intended, could not reach Her. So that as on the one hand nobody (she believ'd) would wrong her, if they could ; so on the other (she resolv'd) they should not, if they would.

"Her soft yielding Compliance back'd with Magnanimity was like polish'd Marble, smooth and strong.

"She was seated above the clouded Atmosphere of Worldly Joys and Troubles, even while She was here ; and had wrought Herself to a perfect Indifference and Unconcernedness in all things, but Her Service of God, and Kindness to Her Friends.

"She had no value for the World, nor Over-value for Herself, who was one of the Best Parts of it. For as Her Worth had set her even with the Greatest ; so Her

Humility plac'd her familiarly with the Meanest; and yet this attended with so natural a Becomingness, that her very Humility exalted her, and her Condescensions made her the more Venerable and Highly Esteemed.

"Where the Passions are kept in this Awe and Order; the Superiour Faculties being clear and undisturb'd, must needs exercise all their Functions aright.

"She took, when young, special delight in her Father's Excellent Comlosures. And she hath left in Writing a considerable Stock of Excellent ones of Her own; ever spending the time that best pleased Her with her Pen.

"Above all, Reading of good Discourses and making of Pious Meditations were Her chief and daily Employment: to which and to Her Devotions she was so Constant, that, as she hath fill'd some volumes with the One; so for the Other, from her Youth to Her late Death-bed, she fail'd not of Prayer (as I am Informed) thrice a day; and if Morning or Noon hapned to be omitted, She would make amends at Night, and then to be sure even that Account.

"Herein lay Her solid Satisfaction, in Conversing thus with God; that She looks upon all Occasions, that Interrupted That, as Impertinent and Uneasie: and if She had any Quarrel to this Place, 'twas this, the Multitude of Formal Visits, which she could not avoid receiving from London and returning, that took off her time from these Spiritual Exercises.

"This as to her Principle.

"Then as to the Emanations of it to the Eye and Observation of the World; for we have as yet been in the Closet.

"In her Maiden-state; Of her Infant-years which were spent at Welbeck (a Place that bears the Proportion and Resemblance of a Court) under the Tuition of her Father and Mother, we have already spoken. We shall now treat of her more Adult Vertues.

"What Courage and Loyalty, as the right daughter of a General, as the Valiant Woman here spoken of, did she shew, in keeping the Garrison'd House of her Father, where she was left with one of her Noble Sisters, as a Sharer of her Vertues and the Misfortunes of Ill times (the Other being before that time happily bestow'd) amongst the Horrid Circumstances of War, till taken by the Enemy, and there made their Prisoners!

"What Gallantry of Charity at the Retaking it by the King's Forces; when she became Petitioner to save her Jaylor's life, whose Treatments, though not Barbarous, yet had been much short of such Civilities, as to Persons of their Age, Tenderness, and Quality were due?

"What Patience and Magnanimity in all the Disasters of Her Loyal Family; her Mother's death, the Loss of my Lord's Army, His leaving England, His and Her Brothers Banishment after and Proscription, and the Seizure of all their Fortunes, besides Her own Personal Sufferings and Unsettlements?

"What Duty and Piety, when after the Fifts were procured, She was enabled to become Solicitor for her Father and Brothers; when Loyalty was so criminal, that

nothing less would serve them to Except them from Life : when with all Her early Diligences and Attendances, and Petitionings, how humbly and closely soever prosecuted, She could not prevail for Her Father; Her Brothers only with much difficulty had pardon for Life?

“And then when things were grown to that Extremity, that All that could be had from an enemy was too scant a support for Her banish’d Father (I have it from an Excellent Hand, that with great Obligingness gives this Account in Print) She converted Her own Peculium of Jewels and Plate (which her Father and Grandmother had given Her) into Monies, and sent it over a Token of Affectionate Duty.

“Nor stopt her Duty here, but she continued it together with her Obedience to her Married State : having resolv’d without his Leave and Consent not to change her Condition ; nor so neither, without a Liberty from her Intended Husband, out of that Fortune, Her Father’s Nobleness had design’d Her, to make him a considerable Present ; (so I find it Nobly Acknowledg’d by the same Excellent Authoress) of which His Grace (I understand) soon after his Restouration, no less obligingly, with greatest Kindness of all generous and indearing Expressions, Ordered a Liberal Return.

“And then with what Condescending Prudence and Judicious Moderation did She make her Choice ; when having through the Iniquity of the Times observ’d the Desolation made in the Greatest Families, and the little Choice then amongst those Few left of the Higher Nobility ; (for she resolv’d to match with no Family, which had ill-treated Her King and Father, how advantageous soever) She suiting her Judgment to her Inclination, accepted a Gentleman, yet One (besides his other Accomplishments, and the Merit of his most Affectionate Respects) of an Ancient Family and a very Noble Descent, with whose Principles and Fortune She perswaded her self of Content ? And she found That perswasion did not deceive Her, having here in Chelsey lived these 14 Years and few Months, as well as to Her own, as to the great Satisfaction and Joy of every Body else that knew Her.

“How willing She ever was to Oblige all persons how Ready to all good Offices ; how Meek, and Humble, and Charitable, and Familiarly Courteous to Neighbours and all others, let Fame, let Envy itself speak.

“Of her Charity to this Place I question not but we shall see in a short Time some fair Testimonies erected.

“Her Devotions she lov’d particularly to make out in Observing the Fasts of the Church, as much and as oft, as the tenderness of Her Constitution could well permit.

“Next to Reading and Writing she delighted much in her Needle, and hath left great quantities of Work to her Children.

“This in short is the account of her Life in its Healthful time.

“We come at last to the sad Scene of her Sickness and Death, wherein it pleas’d a good God in some measure to answer her desires (who had always a tender Apprehension for Pain) that, though the Fits to sorrowful by-standers seem’d not to be without Pang and Agony, yet were graciously Alleviated to Her by a Surprize of her Senses, for the time, and That so Gentle too, as never to cause any Disorder or Indecency.

"Nor after the Fits, at the return of Spirits, sufficient to give Her Liberty of Speech, did She ever (except two of her four last days) complain of Pain, which was then Violent in her Head ; but even then and at all other times of her Sickness, while She had Speech, She used it most in Devotion, and in many gentle chearful and obliging expressions to her Husband, Children, Doctors, and other her mournful Assistants.

"Particularly in the Three weeks Interval, She had, when there were very good hopes of her Recovery, She used often to say ; That, though She resigned up Her self wholly to the wise disposal of a good God, yet She being in expectation of being call'd away in her first Fits, look'd upon her Recovery as a gracious kind of Disappointment (they were her own Words) by God Almighty. This She did (she said) not out of Discontent at her Sickness, which She thankfully acknowledged tolerably Easie, but (as having conquered this World, and being now in her Passage to a Better) out of her Intuition of a glorious Crown, that, She trusted, awaited her in Heaven."

Some lines on the Death of Lady Jane Cheyne are printed amongst the epigrams of Richard Flecknoe : and an elegy, in manuscript, "by a person of quality and neighbour in Chelsey," is bound up in a copy of the funeral sermon at the British Museum. A more worthy tribute to her is the following stanza which I find printed in the works of Sir William Davenant, the Laureate :

"UPON THE MARRIAGE OF THE LADY JANE CAVENDISH
WITH MR. CHEYNE.

"Why from my thoughts' sweet rest, sweeter to me
Than young Ambition's prosp'rous Travails be,
Or Love's delicious progresses,
And is, next Death, the greatest ease :
Why from so calme a Heav'n
Dost call me to this world, all windy grown ?
Where the light crowd, like lightest Sand is driven,
And weighty greatness, even by them, to Air is blown ?"

Of Lady Jane's literary talents we have no other evidence than a manuscript play entitled "The Concealed Fansyes," preserved in the Bodleian, which is said to be hers : nor have I yet been able to trace the story of her conduct in the siege. But her stepmother, the Duchess of Newcastle, mentions the help which she gave to the Duke,

saying "his son Henry, now Earl of Ogle, and his eldest daughter, the now Lady Cheiny did all what lay in their power to relieve my Lord their Father, and sent him some supplies of money at several times when he was in banishment . . . the Lady Cheiny sold some few jewels which my Lord her Father had left her, and some Chamber-plate which she had from her Grandmother and sent over the money to my Lord, besides £1000 of her portion."

An interesting relic of Lady Jane, preserved with the Bridgewater Papers, is a small quarto MS. book bound in vellum, inscribed on the first page, in a childish hand :

"JANE CAVENDISH
MICHILMASS 1635
MY PERSONAL ESTATE, IN THIS BOOK."

The first entry is "A list of my waring clothes, 1635." This is followed by a list of "My Linings," evidently of the same date : but the next entry must be some twenty years later, being "My child bed linen." Amongst many household accounts are "a true note of the Plate, the 21 Aprell 1657." "A true perticler of my Juells the 2 of Sep. 1656" : also an entry relating to the christening of her child by "Dr. Taler," and to "the christening of Mr. Laurences child."

In one of Diepenbeke's plates in her father's book of horsemanship, Lady Jane is represented sitting with her husband under a loggia.

Lord Cheyne appears to have made Chelsea his principal residence. Faulkner prints a letter written by Cheyne in 1698 to Dr. King the Rector, which serves to show the interest he took in the parish and the Church. And Evelyn, in 1696, writes : "I made my Lord Cheney a visit at Chelsea, and saw those ingenious water-works invented by Mr. Winstanley [the Architect of Eddystone Lighthouse] wherein were some things very surprising and extraordinary."

I have already mentioned a couple of entries in Cheyne's cash book relating to the monument ; and I now venture to publish a few more

that are of interest in connection with his residence in Chelsea. Some of these refer to his neighbours, and the parish.

"Dec. 23, 1669. Given to y^e Bp of Winchester's Cooke who brought $\frac{1}{2}$ a Doe 5/-."

"Spent at y^e White Horse wth Mr Rugworth, Chall[oner], and Unc. Fleet[wood] 6/-." This was the old inn near the bottom of Church Lane.

"Given to y^e watch att Chelsey bridge 1/-."*

"Given to Mr. Littleton's man y^e brought y^e Assize Sermon 2/-."

"Given to a distracted woeman 2/6."

"Spt att y^e Mag Pye att Leverett's Feast 12/-."

This was the "Magpie and Stump" on Cheyne Walk, pulled down a few years ago.

"Spt at Fr. Guilford's, Dr. Littleton, Mr. Laurence, 2/-."

"Spent at Swinden's wth y^e Chelsey Club 19/6."

"Given to Mr. Wilkinson y^e Smith's man for bringing and setting on a lock his master gave wth two keys for y^e Church doore, 5/- (25 May 1672)."

"Lost at Bowles at Swinden's."

"Given to a porter y^e brought wine from y^e Dog 1/-." On Jan. 2, 1672-3, "Lost and given att my Lady Laurence Wassall." 4/9."

Others relate to the children, such as :

"To Betty Kate and Will, for play, 7/6."

"Given to Will for his early rising 2/6."

"Will's matriculation 13/-" (1671), together with several items for sight-seeing at Oxford. "On Nov^r 3rd" in the same year, "Given Will to lay out for things for y^e fire night £2."

On 7 March 1671-2, "Lost to Mr. Laurence at Back Gamon 3/-." and the next day, "Lost by Betty at Back Gamon 6/-."

* This was either "Stone Bridge," or "Bloody Bridge," over the West Bourne which divides Chelsea from Westminster. There was no bridge over the Thames till 100 years later.

Of these children there is not much to relate. Elizabeth, the elder daughter, was baptized in the Church 13 May, 1656. On 4 March, 1674-5, she was married at Westminster Abbey, to Henry, eldest surviving son of Sir John Monson. She was buried at South Carlton, Lincolnshire, on 29 April, 1725. Catherine, the younger, was baptized at Chelsea on 11 Dec. 1658, and buried 25 March, 1669-70.

William, the only son, was baptized 14 July, 1657. On 16 December, 1675, he married, at Chelsea, Elizabeth Thomas, "grand-daughter to the Lady Morgan," the ceremony being performed by George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, who was then in residence at the Palace adjoining the Manor House. This lady however only lived a short time, and was buried at Chelsea on 10 August, 1677. In T. Clarke's "Genealogies of Glamorgan" (p. 558), I find that she was the only daughter of Edmond Thomas, of Wenvoe, and his wife Elizabeth, sole daughter and heiress of Sir Lewis Morgan, and sister and heiress of Thomas Morgan of Rhiwpera. Her brother, William Thomas, of Wenvoe and Rhiwpera, married Mary, daughter of Philip, Lord Wharton, in the year 1673. Lady Morgan was Ann, daughter and heiress of Sir Charles Morgan. She lived at Chelsea; but was buried with her mother at Delft. On 6 May, 1680, William Cheyne married his second wife, at Chelsea, Gertrude Pierrepont, only daughter of Robert, eldest son of William Pierrepont of Thoresby, and sister to Evelyn, third Duke of Kingston. He sold the manor in 1713, and died in 1728, and was buried at Drayton Beauchamp, leaving no issue.

Charles Lord Cheyne married for his second wife Lactitia Isabella, daughter of Sir John Smith of Bidborough, Kent, and widow of his neighbour in Chelsea, John, first Earl of Radnor, one of the Court Beauties. As I shall notice the Radnor family in a subsequent chapter, I need say no more of this lady here than that she survived Lord Cheyne, and was buried beside him on 15 July, 1714.

Lord Cheyne was buried on 13 July, 1698, at Chelsea, in accordance with the wish expressed in his will.

He devises a live estate in certain lands in Chelsea to Lady Radnor, his widow, a ring to her daughters Araminta and Olympia, twenty pounds to his cousin Edward Chaloner, a hundred pounds to his

daughters Gertrude Cheyne and Elizabeth Monson, and the rest of his estate to his son and successor William.

The only record I can find in Chelsea of William Lord Cheyne is that he built Cheyne Row. That is to say, he opened out the road from the waterside as far as the Glebe land on the north, and sold the freehold of the land on the east side of it for building. A stone tablet on the southernmost house is inscribed : "This is Cheyne Row, 1708."

This land had been used as a bowling green, not, as Faulkner states, for "The Feathers," but for a house called "The Three Tuns" adjoining it on the east side. Nor was "The Feathers" demolished, as is generally supposed, but its site is at present occupied by the corner house in Cheyne Row, on the east side. (Middlesex Registry, 1711, Clarkson to Turton.)

"Cheyne Walk" is a name of later origin, and is now applied to the whole length of the waterside road from Flood Street to World's End Passage. This was the principal street of Old Chelsea, and Cheyne left it as he found it, save for Cheyne Row. The eastern part of the roadway from Flood Street to Queen's House adjoined the great garden of the Manor House; and it was not until 1717 that Sir Hans Sloane profaned so hallowed a spot by leasing it for building. (Middlesex Registry, 1719, Bk. I. No. 325.)

In 1712 Sir Hans Sloane purchased the manor from William Lord Cheyne, but it was not till thirty years later that he took up his residence in Chelsea. "He began in February of the year 1742," says Faulkner (from whose admirable memoir I take most of the following particulars), "to remove his library and museum from his house in Bloomsbury to that at Chelsea, whither he went himself to reside on the 12th of May following."

The briefest sketch of a career so famous is all that need be given here. He was descended from a family originally of Scotland, but settled in the north of Ireland in the reign of James I. His father was Alexander Sloane, of Killyleagh, County Down; his mother, Sarah, daughter of Dr. Hickes, Chaplain to Archbishop Laud. Hans, their seventh and youngest son, was born at Killyleagh on April 16,

1660. He came to London when still very young, and studied medicine, at the Apothecaries' Hall, and also prosecuted his favourite science, botany, at the Physic Garden in Chelsea, where he made friends with Ray and Boyle. In 1683 he visited the continent, taking his degree of Doctor of Physic at Leyden in that year.

In 1695 he married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of John Langley, an alderman of London, and widow of Fulke Rose, Esq., of Jamaica, through whom he acquired a considerable fortune. In 1712 he succeeded Dr. Shadwell as Royal Physician. "In the last sickness of Queen Anne," says Faulkner (with unconscious humour), "he was called in to her assistance as he had been upon some former occasions. And after the advancement of King George I. to the throne, he was created by his Majesty, on the 3rd of April, 1716, a Baronet, an honour which had never before been conferred upon any Physician in England."

He was elected President of the College of Physicians in 1719, and succeeded Sir Isaac Newton as President of the Royal Society in 1727, which position he retained till he retired to Chelsea in 1742.

Amongst the many visits which Sloane received after his retirement to Chelsea was one from the Prince and Princess of Wales, a description of which is printed by Faulkner, as follows, from a manuscript in the British Museum entitled "A Relation of that magnificent Philosophical Entertainment which Sir Hans Sloane gave to their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales on the 7th of June 1748 containing a short account of his most surprizing Museum." (Bibl. Egerton, 834, fol. 252).

"Dr. Mortimer, Secretary to the Royal Society, conducted the Prince and Princess into the room where Sir Hans was seated, being ancient and infirm. The Prince took a chair and sat down by the good old gentleman for some time, when he expressed the great esteem and value he had for him personally, and how much the learned world was obliged to him, for his having collected such a vast variety of curious books and such immense treasures of the valuable and instructive productions of nature and art. Sir Hans' house formed a square of about one hundred feet on each side, inclosing a court,

and three front rooms had tables set along the middle, which were spread over with cases filled with all sorts of precious stones, in their natural beds, or state, as they are found in the earth, except the first, that contained stones formed in animals, which are so many diseases of the creature that bears them ; as the most beautiful pearls which are but warts in the shellfish, the bezoar, concretions in the stomach, and stones generated in the kidney and bladder, of which man woefully knows the effects ; but the earth, in her bosom, generates the verdant emerald, the purple amethyst, the golden topaz, the azure sapphire, the crimson garnet, the scarlet ruby, the brilliant diamond, the glowing opal, and all the painted varieties with which Flora herself might wish to be decked ; here the most magnificent vessels of cornelian, onyx, sardonyx, and jasper, delighted the eye and raised the mind to praise the great Creator of all things.

“When their royal highnesses had viewed one room and entered another, the scene was shifted ; for, when they returned, the same tables were covered for a second course, with all sorts of jewels polished and set after the modern fashion, or with gems carved or engraved, the stately and instructive remains of antiquity. For the third course, the tables were spread with gold and silver ore, with the most precious and remarkable ornaments used in the habits of men from Siberia to the Cape of Good Hope, from Japan to Peru, and with both ancient and modern coins and medals in gold and silver, the lasting monuments of historical facts ; as those of a Prusias, King of Bythinia, who betrayed his allies ; of an Alexander, who, mad with ambition, overran and invaded his neighbours ; of a Cæsar, who enslaved his country to satisfy his own pride ; of a Titus, the delight of mankind ; of a Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, recording on a silver medal his blind zeal for religion, in perpetuating thereon the massacre of the Protestants in France, as did Charles IX., the then reigning king in that country. Here might be seen the coins of a King of England crowned at Paris, a medal representing France and Spain striving which should pay their obeisance to Britannia, others showing the effect of popular rage when over-much oppressed by their rulers, as in the case of the De Wits in Holland, the deliverance of Britain,

by the arrival of William, the glorious exploits of a Marlborough, and the happy sway of the present royal family.

“The gallery, one hundred and ten feet in length, presented a most surprising prospect. The most beautiful corals, crystals, and figured stones, the most brilliant butterflies and other insects, shells painted with as great variety as the precious stones, and feathers of birds vying with gems. Here the remains of the world before the Deluge excited the awful idea of that catastrophe; and are so many evident testimonies to the truth of Moses’s history.

“Then a noble vista presented itself through several rooms filled with books, and many hundred volumes of dried plants; a room full of choice and valuable manuscripts; the noble present sent by the (then) French king to Sir Hans, being prints of his collection of paintings, medals, statues, palaces, etc., in twenty-five large atlas volumes, besides other valuable things, too numerous to mention here.

“Below stairs, some rooms were filled with curious remains of antiquities, from Egypt, Greece, Etruria, Rome, Britain, and even America; others with large animals preserved in the skin; the great saloon lined on every side with bottles filled with spirits, containing various animals. The halls were adorned with the horns of various creatures, as of the double-horned rhinoceros of Africa, and deer’s horns from Ireland, nine feet wide, and with weapons of different countries; among which it appears, that the Mangalese, and not our most Christian neighbours, the French, had the honour of inventing that butchery weapon, the bayonet. Fifty volumes in folio would scarcely suffice to contain a detail of this immense museum, consisting of above two hundred thousand articles.

“Their royal highnesses were not wanting in expressions of their satisfaction at seeing a collection which surpassed all the notions or ideas they had formed of it, from even the most favourable accounts. On this occasion the Prince showed his great reading and happy memory, for in such a multiplicity and such a variety of the productions of nature and art, upon anything being shewn to him that he had not seen before, he was ready in recollecting having read of it;

and upon viewing the ancient and modern medals, he made so many judicious remarks, that he appeared to be a perfect master of history and chronology ; he expressed the great pleasure it gave him to see so magnificent a collection in England, esteeming it an ornament to the nation ; and his sentiments how much it must conduce to the benefit of learning, and how great an honour will redound to Britain, to have it established for public use to the latest posterity."

Two other visitors have left us a charming picture of Sir Hans Sloane, in his old age. The first, George Edwards, F.R.S. : " After his retirement to Chelsea," he writes, in the Preface to his "Gleanings of Natural History," " he requested it, as a favour to him (though I embraced it as an honour done to myself), that I would visit him every week in order to divert him, for an hour or two, with the common news of the town, and with everything particular that should happen amongst his acquaintance of the Royal Society and other ingenious gentlemen, many of whom I was weekly conversant with ; and I seldom missed drinking coffee with him on a Saturday, during the whole time of his retirement at Chelsea. He was so infirm as to be wholly confined to his house, except sometimes, though rarely, taking a little air in his garden in a wheeled chair ; and this confinement made him very desirous to see any of his old acquaintance to amuse him. He was always strictly careful that I should be at no expense in my journeys from London to Chelsea to wait on him, knowing that I did not superabound in the gifts of fortune. He would calculate what the expense of coach hire, waterage, or any other little charge that might attend on my journeys backwards and forward would amount to, and would oblige me annually to accept of it, though I would willingly have declined it. During the latter part of his life he was frequently petitioned for charity by some decayed branches of families of eminent men, late of his acquaintance, who were famous for their learned works, etc. ; which petitions he always received and considered with attention ; and, provided they were not found fraudulent, they were always answered by his charitable donations. The last time that I saw him was on the 10th of January 1753 ; and he died on the 11th, at four o'clock in the afternoon."

Professor Martyn, on reading the above, wrote to Faulkner : " I beg leave, as well as Mr. Edwards, to consider Sir Hans Sloane as one of my patrons. The condescension of the venerable and amiable old gentleman to me, when a schoolboy, will never be forgotten by me ; and his figure is even now presented to my eye in the most lively manner, as he was sitting, fixed by age and infirmity, in his arm chair. I usually carried a present from my father of some book that he had published, and the old gentleman, in return, always presented me with a broad piece of gold, treated me with chocolate, and sent me with his librarian to see some of his curiosities. It appears now like looking into other times."

Sloane was buried in the churchyard at Chelsea on January 18, 1753, in accordance with the instructions contained in his will: " That my body shall be buried in a decent manner, in the church-yard, at Chelsea, about noon, or at a convenient time of the day. And I will that there be invited to my funeral all such persons as I shall leave in a list by me signed ; or if no such list be left, then such persons as my executors shall know to have been my most intimate friends and acquaintances. And that they shall have rings of twenty shillings value given to each of them."

It is stated in the " Biographia Britannica " that the solemnity was attended with the greatest concourse of people of all ranks and conditions that had ever been seen before on the like occasion. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Zachary Pearce, then Bishop of Bangor. At the close of his sermon the preacher continues: " Thus much has been said on this occasion, in consequence of what is known to have been the intention of the deceased, who piously thought, that a discourse upon the uncertainty of human life, and the advantages of a good one, for so he expressed himself, might be useful to such as the solemnities of his funeral might bring together in this place ; and, by this signification of his mind, made in writing, probably near twenty years ago, it may be judged how much the promoting of true piety lay then at his heart, even while the full strength of his reason remained, and his health of body had suffered little or no decay.

Upon this I might enlarge, and much more might be said to place his religious example in the light which it deserved ; but his modesty and humility have laid a restraint upon the preacher, for fear that anything said should have the look and face of encomiastic flattery: they are his own words, and it is the thing which he expressly prohibited."

The monument, by Wilton, which stands in the south-east corner of the churchyard, also commemorates Lady Sloane, who was buried in the vault on 1 October, 1724. Mr. William Stanley, presumably her grandson, was interred in the same vault on November 21 of the same year, William Sloane, elder brother of Sir Hans, and for several years resident in Chelsea, on 5 April, 1728; also on 27 July, 1732, his wife Hester Sloane. Dr. Jean Gaspar Scheuchzer, Foreign Secretary to the Royal Society, was buried "from Sir Hans Sloane" on 24 April, 1729—possibly in the same vault.

The monument is of Portland stone, consisting of a portico supported by four square pillars which rest on a plain base. Under the portico is an urn or vase with four serpents twined round it. On the north side of the base is this inscription :

Here lies interred
ELIZABETH LADY SLOANE,
wife of Sir Hans Sloane Bart.
who departed this life
in the year of Our Lord 1724,
and the 67th of her age.

On the south side :

To the memory of
SIR HANS SLOANE, BART.
President of the Royal Society,
and of the College of Physicians;
who, in the year of our Lord 1753,
the 92d year of his age,
Without the least pain of body,

CHELSEA OLD CHURCH

and with a conscious serenity of mind,
ended a virtuous and beneficent life.

This monument was erected
by his two daughters
ELIZA CADOGAN and SARAH STANLEY.

On the east side of the base are these arms carved upon a shield: A sword in pale, the point downwards between two boars' heads couped, on a chief ermine a lion passant (Sloane). On an escutcheon of pretence, quarterly 1 & 4 arg. a cockatrice sa. (Langley) 2 & 3 arg. on a bend vert. 3 wolves heads erased of the field (Middleton).

On the west side is the crest, a lion's head erased, or, collared with mascles interlaced, sa.

It appears from the Vestry Minutes that this monument was not erected till 1763, in which year (September 21) the parishioners were asked to consent to "an alteration intended to be made in Sir Hans Sloane's monument," and they approved "an intimation from Doctors Commons for a vault and monument." Cole, the antiquary, notes that "In the Cambridge Chronicle of Saturday October 29, 1763 is this paragraph :—A magnificent monument is erected by Mr. Wilton the Statuary at the South East corner of the Churchyard at Chelsea to the memory of the late Sir Hans Sloane and his Lady." (Mus. Brit. MSS. Add. 5832, fol. 213.)

CHAPTER V

SIR THOMAS MORE

No one has yet succeeded in throwing any certain light on the circumstances of More's settling in Chelsea. The date may be nearly guessed; for in the marriage-licence of his daughter Margaret with William Roper, dated 2 July, 1521, she is described as of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, while in 1524 there are two purchases by More recorded in the "Feet of Fines" for Middlesex; one, of a messuage and seven and a half acres in Chelsea and Kensington for £20, the other of twenty-seven acres of land in Chelsea for £30.

There is nothing in these records which serves to identify these premises, which were only a part of what he left in Chelsea;* and in determining the site of his house, of which no vestige now remains, we must be guided by its subsequent history. Even at the beginning of the eighteenth century the question was so much in doubt as to occasion a letter from Dr. King, the Rector, on the publication of Hearne's edition of "Roper's Life of More." "Though time is the great devourer of all things in this world," he writes, "yet it is strange that in the course of two hundred years, a matter of this nature should be so much in the dark. As seven cities in Greece contended for the birthplace of Homer, so there are no fewer than four houses in this parish lay claims to Sir Thomas More's residence."

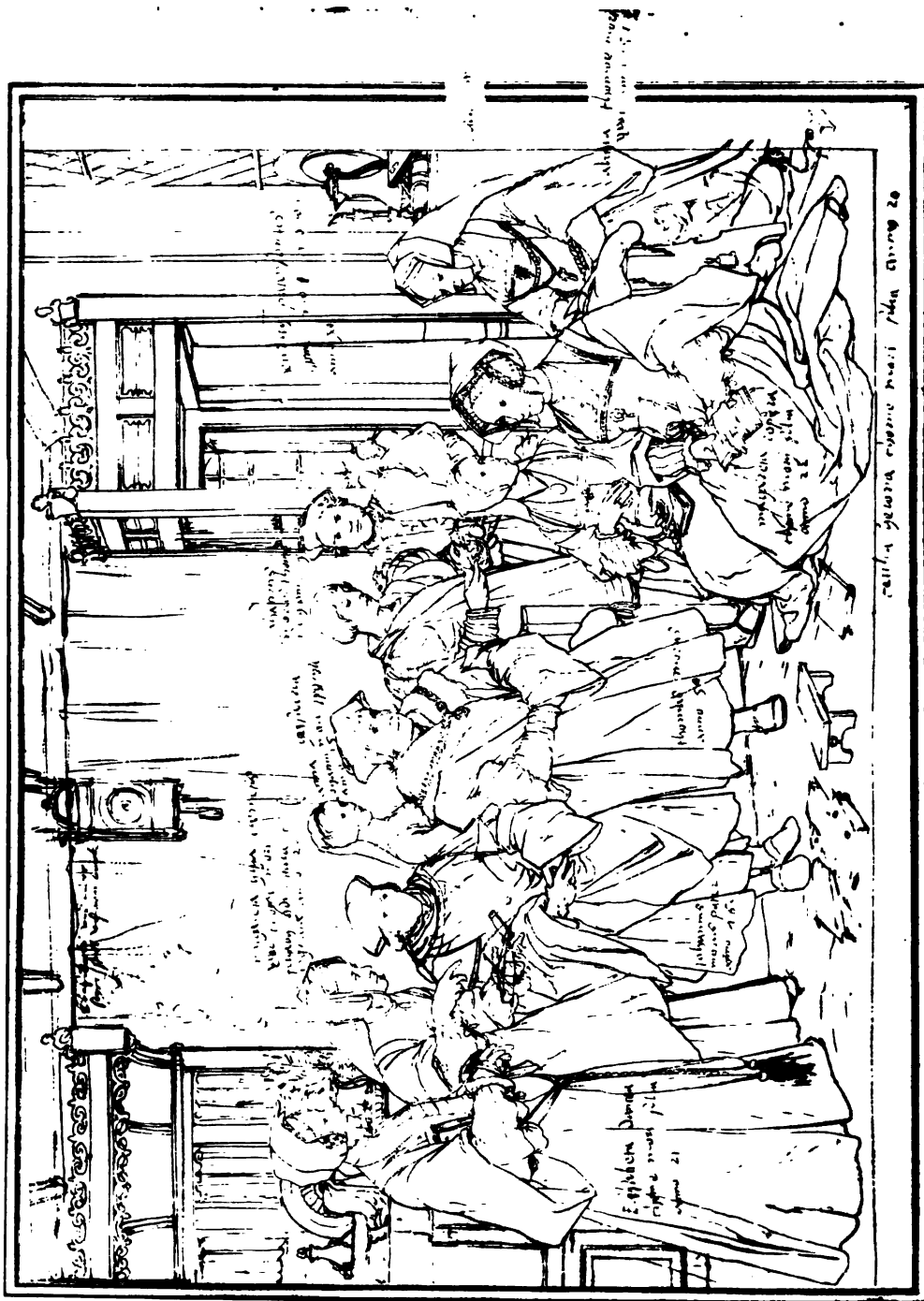
* It is possible that the bulk of his property was that devised by Hugh Oldom, Bishop of Exeter, to Corpus College, Oxford; there being no further record of this college in Chelsea. The will was dated 16 Dec. 1518, and the property is described as "All such houses lands and tenements rents reversions with all other appurtenances lying in Chelsey which I bought of Sir Renold Braye."

It is now generally admitted that "Beaufort House," whose site is now occupied by the middle part of Beaufort Street, may be identified with More's; but as some doubt still exists on the subject, it will be as well to follow Dr. King a little further.

"In my opinion," he continues, "Beaufort House bids fairest to be the place where Sir Thomas More's stood; my reasons are these that follow:—First, his [great] grandson Mr. Thomas [*i.e.*, Cresacre] More, who wrote his life, and was born in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and may well be supposed to know where the most eminent person of his ancestors lived, says that Sir Thomas More's house in Chelsea was the same which my Lord of Lincoln bought of Sir Robert Cecil; now it appears pretty plainly that Sir Robert Cecil's house was the same which is now the Duke of Beaufort's; for in divers places [are] these letters R.C. and also R.^cE. with the date of the year, viz., 1597. Which letters were the initials of his name and his lady's, and the year 1597 was when he new-built, or at least new-fronted it. From the Earl of Lincoln that house was conveyed to Sir Arthur Gorges, from him to Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, from him to King Charles I.; from the King to the Duke of Buckingham; from his son since the restoration to Plummer, a citizen, for debt; from the said Plummer to the Earl of Bristol, and from his heirs, to the Duke of Beaufort; so that we can trace all the mesne assignments from Sir Robert Cecil to the present possessor."

Of More's share in the history both of the parish and of the Church I have already spoken. Of his life I feel no need to give any account in this place, except a few passages which, although probably familiar to most of my readers, I have collected out of the most authentic records of him, as being of the greatest interest to Chelsea.

The most valuable account of More's private life is, unquestionably, that of William Roper. "I, William Roper," he writes in his preface "(though unworthy) his son-in-law by marriage of his eldest daughter, knowing no one man that of him and his doings understood so much as myself, for that I was continually resident in his house by the space of sixteen years and more, thought it therefore my part to set forth



THE MORE FAMILY AT CHELSEA.

*From the drawing by Holbein in the Basle Museum, after a photograph
by Ad. Braun et Cie, of Dornach, Alsace.*

such matters touching his life as I could at this present call to remembrance."

Roper died in 1578, but his manuscript was not printed until 1717, when it was edited and published by Thomas Hearne.

Another important life of More, which incorporates a good deal of Roper's, was printed anonymously about the year 1627. The Rev. Joseph Hunter, who edited a new edition in 1828, had discovered the author to be Sir Thomas' great grandson, Cresacre More. From these two books, neither of which is easily procurable, most of my quotations are made.

There is another document, however, which I will first notice, namely Holbein's drawing of More and his family, which is reproduced on the opposite page. This famous sketch, inscribed with the names of the persons represented, was sent by More to Erasmus upon Holbein's return to Basle in 1528, and is now at the Museum there. It was made at Chelsea in the same, or possibly the previous year, and is therefore the earliest, as well as one of the most valuable of the records which are left to us of More's residence in Chelsea. Here we can see the whole family, drawn from the life, as they sat grouped before Holbein in one of the rooms at the Chelsea house. In the centre are Sir Thomas and his father Sir John More. At the left Dame Alice, his second wife, with a pet monkey beside her; while in front of her are seated Margaret Roper and Cecily Heron, More's eldest and youngest daughters. The second daughter, Elizabeth Dancy, is standing on the other side of the group. Behind Sir Thomas stand his son John, and Anne Cresacre his wife.

The names of the different members of the group, and their ages, were written by Sir Thomas More himself, and the other comments by Holbein, a circumstance which gives an interest to this drawing which not even the finished picture possessed.

"Although he (Sir Thomas) lived a courtier," says Cresacre More (chap. vi.), "and a lay married man, yet when he came home, he would, both in the morning and in the evening, before he went to bed, say in his chapel certain prayers, devoutly upon his knees, with his wife, children and family, and because he was desirous sometimes to

be solitary, and would sequester himself from the world to recollect himself, and shake off the dust of earthly businesses, which otherwise would easily defile his soul, he built for himself a chapel, a library, and a gallery, called the New Buildings, a good distance from his main house, wherein, as his custom was upon other days, to busy himself in prayer and meditation, whensoever he was at leisure ; so usually he would continue there on the Fridays, in memory of Christ's bitter passion, from morning until night, spending the whole day in devotion ; so that he became an excellent man in the contemplative life ; of all which let us hear what Erasmus writeth : ' More hath built near London, upon the Thames side [to wit, at Chelsey, late my Lord of Lincoln's] a commodious house, neither mean, nor subject to envy, yet magnificent enough ; there he converseth affably with his family, his wife, his son, and daughter-in-law, his three daughters and their husbands, with eleven grandchildren. There is not any man living so loving to his children as he : and he loveth his old wife as well as if she were a young maid ; and such is the excellency of his temper, that whatsoever happeneth that could not be helped, he loveth it as though nothing could happen more happily. You would say there were in that place Plato's Academy ; but I do the house injury in comparing it to Plato's Academy, wherein there was only disputations of numbers and geometrical figures, and sometimes of moral virtues. I should rather call his house a school, or university of Christian religion ; for there is none therein but readeth or studieth the liberal sciences ; their special care is piety and virtue ; there is no quarrelling, or intemperate words heard ; none seem idle ; which household discipline that worthy gentleman doth not govern by proud and lofty words, but with all kind and courteous benevolence. Everybody performeth his duty, yet there is always alacrity, neither is sober mirth anything wanting.' And again he writeth thus : ' His first wife, which was but young, he caused to be instructed in learning, and to be taught all kind of music ; she dying after she had brought forth four children, he married, as is aforesaid, a widow, not for lust, but to be a governess to his young family, who, although she were inclining to old age, and of a nature somewhat harsh, and besides very worldly, yet he persuaded

her to play upon the lute, viol, and some other instruments, every day performing thereon her task ; and so with the like gentleness he ordered his whole family.' He suffered none of his servants either to be idle, or to give themselves to any games ; but some of them he allotted to look to the garden, assigning to every one his sundry plot ; some again he set to sing, some to play on the organs ; he suffered none to give themselves to cards or dice. The men abode on one side of the house, the women on the other, seldom conversing together ; he used before bedtime to call them together, and say certain prayers with them, as the ' *Miserere* ' psalm, ' *Ad te, Domine, levavi*,' ' *Deus misereatur nostri*,' ' *Salve Regina*,' and ' *De Profundis* ' for the dead, and some others. He suffered none to be absent from mass on the Sundays, or upon great feasts or holidays. He watched much in the night all the matins time. Upon Good Friday he would call them together in the New Buildings, and read the holy passion unto them ; he would now and then interpose some speeches of his own to move them either to compassion, compunction, or such pious affections. Erasmus saith, ' That there was a fatal felicity fallen on the servants of that house, that none lived in better estate. After Sir Thomas More's death, none ever was touched with the least aspersion of any evil fame.'

" He used to have one read daily at his table, which, being ended, he would ask of some of them how they understood such and such a place, and so there grew a friendly communication, recreating all men that were present with some jest or other. My aunt Roper writing hereof to her father in the Tower saith: ' What do you think, my most dear father, doth comfort us at Chelsey in this your absence ? surely the remembrance of your manner of life passed amongst us, your holy conversation, your wholesome counsels, your examples of virtue, of which there is hope that they do not only persevere with you, but that they are by God's grace much more increased.' "

Another account of More's house is given in a book entitled " *Il Moro*," by Ellis Heywood, which was published in Florence in 1556. Of the passage in question the following translation is given in Hunter's edition of Cresacre More's book: " Along the beautiful

banks of the Thames there are many delightful villas and chateaus situated in charming spots, in one of which, very near the city of London, dwelt Sir Thomas More. It was a beautiful and commodious residence, and to this place it was his usual practice to retire when weary of London. At this house, as well on account of its proximity to London, as on account of the admirable character of its owner, men distinguished by their genius and learning, who dwelt in the City, were often accustomed to meet; where, when alone and at leisure, they would enter into some useful argument or discourse on things pertaining to human nature; and each using in the best manner his intellect and extensive knowledge, their arguments were attended with great profit to each other. And although, when I call to memory so choice a company as this was, I feel inclined to write concerning them, in order to present before the world a true picture of a real and genuine academy; nevertheless, leaving that unto those who, being members of it, have a more perfect knowledge of the subject, I have now undertaken to give a single discourse." Heywood's work is a dialogue, supposed to take place at Sir Thomas More's; not, as Wood says, in consolation with him, but on the sources of happiness. The six gentlemen, amongst whom the dialogue passes, having dined one day with Sir Thomas More, "retired after dinner into a garden, distant about two stone throws from the house, and went all together to stand upon a small green eminence, and gaze on the prospect. The place was wonderfully charming, both from the advantages of its site, for from one part almost the whole of the noble city of London was visible; and from another, the beautiful Thames, with green meadows and woody eminences all around; and also for its own beauty, for as it was crowned with an almost perpetual verdure, it had flowering shrubs, and the branches of fruit trees which grew near, interwoven in so beautiful a manner, that it appeared like a living tapestry woven by Nature herself, and much more noble than any other work inasmuch as it gave entire satisfaction, whereas the copies of beautiful objects leave the mind rather in desire than content."

Amongst the earliest of More's distinguished visitors at Chelsea was Henry VIII. "And for the pleasure he took in his companie,"

says Roper, 'would his Grace sodenly somtymes come home to his house at Chelsie to be merry with him, whithere on a tyme unlooked for he came to dinner, and after dinner in a faire garden of his walked with him by the space of an houre, houlding his arme about his neck. As soone as his Grace was gone, I rejoycinge, tould Sir Thomas Moore how happie he was, whome the King had so familiarly entertayned, as I had never seen him do to any before, except Cardinall Wolsey, whom I saw his Grace once walk with arme in arme.' 'I thanke our Lord (sonne)' quoth he, 'I find his Grace my very good Lord indeed, and I do believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this Realme. Howbeit (sonne Roper) I may tell thee, I have no cause to be prowde thereof. For yf my head would winne him a Castle in Fraunce (for then there was war between us) yt should not fayle to go.'"

Another visitor was the Duke of Norfolk, of whom Roper relates that "The Duke coming on a time to Chelsey to dine with him, fortun'd to find him at Church singing in the choir with a surplice on his back; to whom after service as they went home together arm in arm, the Duke said, "God body, God body (my Lord Chancellor) a parish clerk, a parish clerk, you dishonour the King and his office." "Nay," quoth Sir Thomas More, smiling upon the Duke, "your Grace may not think that the King, your master and mine, will with me for serving God his Master be offended, or thereby count his office dishonoured."

More resigned the Chancellorship on 16 May, 1532. "And whereas upon the holidayes," says Roper, "during high Chancellorshipp, one of his gentlemen, when service at the Church was downe, ordinarilie used to come to my ladie, his wife's pue, and say, 'Madam, my lord is gone,' the next holiday after the surrender of his office, and departure of his gentlemen, he came unto my ladie, his wife's pue himselfe, and makinge a low curtesie, sayd unto her, 'Madam, my lord is gone.'"

Cresacre More, who relates this anecdote with a little more colour, continues it thus: "This was the way that he thought fittest to break this matter unto his wife; who was full sorry to hear it; and it may

be she spoke then those words which I have rehearsed before, 'Tilly vally ; what will you do, Mr. More ; will you sit and make goslings in the ashes ; it is better to rule than to be ruled.' But to requite her brave mind, he began to find fault with her dressing, for which she chiding her daughters that none of them could espy it, they still saying they could find none ; Sir Thomas merrily said, 'Do you not perceive that your mother's nose standeth somewhat awry ?' At which words she stept away from him in a rage. All which he did to make her think the less of her decay of honour, which else would have troubled her sore.

"Shortly after this he called all his servants together, many of whom were gentlemen of good sort and fashion, and told them, that he could not maintain them as he gladly would, and therefore demanded them, what course of life they would betake themselves to ; and if they purposed to serve any nobleman, he would undertake to place them to their contentment, who with eyes full of tears affirmed that they had rather serve him for nothing, than most men for a great stipend : but when to this he would not agree, he settled them all in places most fit for their turns, either with Bishops or noblemen. His barge he gave to my Lord Audley, who succeeded him in his office, and with it his eight watermen : his fool, Pattison, he gave to the Lord Mayor of London, upon this condition, that he should every year wait upon him that should have that office. After this he called before him all his children, and asking their advice, how he might now in the decay of his ability so impaired by the surrender of his office, that he could not hereafter as he had done and gladly would bear out the whole charges of them all himself (for all his children with their children had hitherto dwelt with him) so that they could not be able to continue together as he could wish they should : when he saw them all silent and none to show him their opinion therein, 'Then will I (said he) show unto you my mind : I have been brought up at Oxford, at an Inn of Chancery, at Lincoln's Inn, and in the king's court, from the lowest degree to the highest ; and yet have I in yearly revenues at this present little left me above a hundred pounds by the year : so that now if we look to live together, you must be

content to be contributories together. But my counsel is, that we fall not to the lowest fare first ; we will not therefore descend to Oxford fare, nor to the fare of New Inn ; but we will begin with Lincoln's Inn diet, where many right worshipful men of great account and good years do live full well ; which if we find ourselves the first year not able to maintain, then will we the next year come down to Oxford fare, where many great learned and ancient fathers and doctors are continually conversant ; which if our purses stretch not to maintain neither, then may we after with bag and wallet go a begging together, hoping that for pity some good folks will give us their charity, and at every man's door to sing a 'Salve Regina,' whereby we shall still keep company and be merry together."

Barely three years later came the end of all this happiness. Two passages in Roper's "Memoir" give us a vivid picture of More's last days at Chelsea. The first is after he had been summoned on the "Parliament Bill" :

"Then took Sir Thomas More his boat towards his house at Chelsea, wherein by the way he was very merry, and for that was I nothing sorry, hoping that he had gotten himself discharged out of the Parliament Bill. When he was come home, then walked we two alone into his garden together where I desirous to know how he had sped said, 'Sir, I trust all is well, because you be so merry.' 'That is so indeed (son Roper) I thank God,' quoth he. 'Are you put out of the Parliament Bill then?' said I. 'By my troth, son Roper,' quoth he, 'I never remembered it.' 'Never remembered it, sir,' quoth I. 'A case that toucheth yourself so near, and us all for your sake? I am sorry to hear it. For I verily trusted when I saw you so merry, that all had been well.' Then said he, 'Wilt thou know, son Roper, why I was so merry?' 'That would I gladly, sir,' quoth I. 'In good faith I rejoiceth, son,' quoth he, 'that I had given the Devil so foul a fall, and that with those lords I had gone so far, as, without great shame, I could never go back again.' At which words waxed I very sad. For though himself liked it well, yet liked it me but a little."

And again : "So fell it out within a month or thereabout after the

making of the Statute for the Oath of Supremacy and Matrimony, that all the Priests of London and Westminster, and no temporal men but he were sent to appear at Lambeth before the Bishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary Cromwell, Commissioners, there to tender the oath unto them. Then Sir Thomas More, as his accustomed manner was always, ere he entered into any matter of importance (as when he was first chosen of the King's Privy Council, when he was sent Ambassador, appointed Speaker of the Parliament, made Lord Chancellor, or when he took any like weighty matter upon him) to go to the Church, and to be confessed, to hear mass, and be housled: so did he likewise in the morning early the self same day that he was summoned to appear before the Lords at Lambeth. And where as he used evermore before, at his departure from his house and children (whom he loved tenderly) to have them bring him to his boat, and there to kiss them all, and bid them farewell, then would he suffer none of them forth of the gate to follow him, but pulled the wicket after him, and shut them all from him, and with an heavy heart (as by his countenance it appeared) with me and our four servants, there took his boat towards Lambeth. Wherein sitting still sadly awhile, at the last he rounded me in the ear and said, 'Son Roper, I thank our Lord the field is won.' What he meant thereby, then, I wist not. Yet loth to seem ignorant I answered, 'Sir, I am thereof very glad.' But as I conjectured afterwards it was for that the love he had to God wrought in him so effectually, that it conquered in him all his carnal affectations utterly."

To these records of More's residence in Chelsea, written for the most part by those who knew him, I append a translation of the epitaph which he composed himself.*

"Thomas More a Londoner, born of no noble family, but of an honest stocke; somewhat brought up in learning: after that in his young daies he had been a pleader in the lawes of this Hall certayne yeares, being one of the Under Sheriffs of London; was of noble King Henerie the eighth (which alone of all Kings worthilie deserved, both

* This translation (which is printed in Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography") is appended to a MS. Life of More at Lambeth (No. 179).

with sworde and penne to be called Defender of the Faith, a glorie before not heard of) called into the Court, and chosen one of the Counsell, and made Knight : then made under Treasurer of England, after Chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, and last of all, with great favour of his Prince, Lord Chauncellour of England. But in the meane season, he was chosen Speaker of the Parliament ; and besides was divers times, in divers places, the King's Ambassadour ; and last of all at Cameray, joyned fellowe and companion with Cuthbert Tunstall (chief of that Embassage, Bishopp of London, and within a while after Bishopp of Durham, who so excelleth in learning, witt, and virtue, that the whole world scant hath this day, anie more learned, wiser, or better), where he both joyfullie sawe and was present Embassadour, when the leagues between the chiefe Princes of Christendome were renewed, and peace, so long looked for, restored to Christendome : which Peace O Lord, stable, and make perpetuall ! When he had thus gone through this course of offices or honours, and neither the gracious Prince could disallow his doings, nor he was odious to the Nobilitie, nor unpleasant to the People, but yet to theeves, murtherers, and here-ticks grievous : at last John More his Father, Knight, and chosen of the Prince to be one of the Justices of the Kings Bench, a civill man, pleasant, harmless, gentle, pitifull, just, and uncorrupted, in yeares old, but in bodie (more then for his yeares) lustie ; after that he perceaved his life so long lengthened, that he sawe his Sonne Lord Chauncellour of England, thinking himself now to have lived long enough, gladlie departed to God. His Sonne then, his Father being dead, to whom as long as he lived being compared, he was wont both to be called yonge, and himself so thought too, missing now his Father departed, and seeing fower children of his owne, and of their offsprings eleven, beganne in his owne conceite to wax olde : and this thought of his was encreased by a certaine sicklie disposition of his breast, even by and by following as a signe or token of age creeping upon him. He therefore, irked and wearie of worldlie busines, giving up his promotions, attained at last by the incomparable benefitt of his most gentle Prince (if it please God to favour his enterprise) that thing, which in a manner from a child he alwaies wished and desired ; that he might

have some yeares of his life free, in which he little and little withdrawing himself from the busines of this life, might continuallie remember the immortallitie of the life to come.

"And he hath caused this Tomb to be made for himself (his first wife's bones brought hither too), that might everie day put him in minde of death, that never ceaseth to creepe on him. And that this Tomb, made for him in his life time, be not in vaine ; nor that he feare death coming upon him, but he may willinglie, for the desire of Christ, die and finde death, not utterlie death to him, but the gate of a welthier life, help him (I beseech you, good reader) now with your prayers while he liveth, and when he is dead also."

"On the South side of the Quire of this Church," says Weever, "under a plaine Monument, lieth the body of Sir Thomas More . . . over his Tombe is an inscription upon the wall made by himselfe a little after he gave over his office of being Chancelour, now hardly to be read."

It has often been questioned whether this tomb were not originally placed in More's Chapel. But this statenent of Weever's (published in 1631) disposes of the idea that it was moved in 1670, when the Church was so considerably altered. Dr. King, in 1717, offers the following explanation (in the letter quoted): "If it be objected," he writes, "that Sir Thomas More's tomb stands in the rector's chancel on the South side, near the communion table, and since he had a chancel of his own, why did he not erect his Monument there? I answer Sir Thomas was one who often officiated at the altar with his intimate friend, Dr. Larke, who suffered also quickly after him for the matter of the supremacy, and therefore, it may be supposed, desired to lay his remains as near the altar as conveniently he could, within the rails where he used to attend mass."

The tomb is of grey stone, consisting of a plain base or sarcophagus upon which rests a four-centred arch forming a recess of moderate depth, flanked on either side by a slight octagonal buttress supporting a foliated cornice. On each spandrell or space between the spring and



THE CHANCEL, c. 1833, SHOWING SIR THOMAS MORE'S TOMB.

From a drawing belonging to Edmund Gardner, Esq.

apex of the arch and the horizontal moulding above is an heraldic shield, the remainder of the spandrell being filled by foliage. Above this, upon the part answering to the frieze in classical designs, are three larger shields, that in the centre being surmounted by More's crest, a blackamoor's head. The back of the recess, up to the spring of the arch, is filled by a slab of polished black marble bearing the inscription, the date, "Anno 1532," being cut in the stone immediately above it.

The shield upon the centre of the cornice bears Sir Thomas More's arms impaling those of his second wife, viz., Quarterly 1 and 4 arg. a chevron engrailed between three moor cocks, sa. crests and legs gu. (*More*) 2 and 3 Arg. on a chevron between 3 unicorns heads erased sa. as many besants. Impaling Erm. a fesse checky, or and az.

That on the dexter side bears *More* (quarterly as above) Impaling Arg. a fesse az. between 3 colts at speed sa. (*Colt*) for More's first wife.

That on the sinister side, the arms of More's second wife, as above. These arms are those of Arden, of Warwickshire, but the identity of Lady More has never been established. It appears from the pedigree of Sir Giles Allington, who married her daughter, that she was the widow of John Middleton; her Christian name was Alice.

The shields in the spandrells of the arch bear *More* and *Colt* on the dexter and sinister side respectively.

The inscription as it now stands is as follows :—

THOMAS MORVS VRBE LONDINENSI FAMILIA NON CELEBRI SED HONESTA NATVS IN LITERIS VTCVNQ VERSATVS ; QVVM ET CAVSAS ALIQVOT ANNOS IUVENIS EGISSET IN FORO ET IN VRBE SUA PRO SHIREVO IVS DIXISSET : AB INVICTISSIMO REGE HENRICO OCTAVO (CVI VNI REGVM OMNIVM GLORIA PRIVS INAVDITA CONTIGIT VT FIDEI DEFENSOR QVALEM ED GLADIO SE ET CALAMO VERE PRAESTITIT MERITO VOCARETVR) ADSCITVS IN AVLAM EST, DELECTVSQ IN CONSILIVM ET CREATVS EQVES, PROQVAESTOR PRIMV. POST CANCELLARIVS LANCASTRIAE TANDEM ANGLIAE MIRO PRINCIPIS FAVORE FACTVS EST SED INTERIM IN PVBLICO REGNI SENATV LECTVS EST ORATOR POPVLI PRETEREA LEGATVS REGIS NONNVNQA FVIT, ALIAS ALIBI, POSTREMO VERO CAMERACI COMES ET COLLEGA IVNCTVS PRINCIPE LEGATIONIS, CUTHBERTO TUNSTALLO TVM LONDINENSI, MOX DVNELMENSI EPISCOPO, QVO VIRO VIX HABET ORBIS HODIE QVICQVAM ERVDITIVS PVUDENTIVS MELIVS. IBI INTER SVMMOS ORBIS CHRISTIANI MONARCHAS RVRSVS REPECTA FOEDERA, REDDITAMQ MVNDO DIV DESIDERATAM PACEM ET LAETISSIMVS VIDIT ET LEGATVS INTERFVIT

"QVAM SVPERI PACEM FIRMENT FAXINTQ PERENNEM"

IN HOC OFFICIORVM VEL HONORVM CVRSV, QVVM ITA VERSARETVR VT NEQ PRINCEPS
OPTIMVS OPERAM EIVS IMPROBARET NEQ NOBILIBVS ESSET INVISVS, NEC INIVCVNDVS POPVLO,
FVRIEVS AVTEM ET HOMICIDIS MOLESTVS. PATER EIVS TANDEM JOHANNES
MORVS EQVES ET IN EVM IVDICVM ORDINEM A PRINCEPE COOPTATVS QVI REGIVS CONFESSVS
VOCATVR; HOMO CIVILIS, SVAVIS, INNOCENS, MITIS, MISERICORS, AEQVVS ET INTEGER, ANNIS
QVIDEM, GRAVIS, SED CORPORE PLVSQVAM PRO AETATE VIVIDO. POSTQVAM EO PRODVCTAM SIBI
VITAM VIDIT, VT FILIVM VIDERIT ANGLIAE CANCELLARIVM, SATIS IN TERRA IAM SE MORATUM
RATVS, LIBENS EMIGRAVIT IN COELVM. AT FILIVS, DEFVNCTO PATRE, CVI QVAMDIU SVPERARAT
COMPARATVS ET IVVENIS VOCARI CONSVENERAT, ET IPSE QVOQ SIBI VIDERATVR, AMISSVM IAM
PATREM REQVIRENS ET AEDITOS EX SE LIBEROS QVATVOR AC NEPOTES VNDECIM RESPICIENS
APVD ANIMVM SVVM CAEPIT PERSENESCERE. AVXIT HVNC AFFECTVM ANIMI SVBSECVT
STATIM VELVT ADPETENTIS SENI SIGNVM, PECTORIS VALETVDO DETEIOR. ITAQ MORTALIVM
HARVM RERVVM SATVR QVAM REM A PVERO PENE SEMPER OPTAVERAT, VT VLTIMOS ALIQVOT
VITAE SVAE ANNOS OBTINERET LIBEROS, QVIBVS HVIVS VITAE NEGOTIIS PAVLATIM SE SEDVCENS
FVTVRÆ POSSIT IMMORTALITATEM MEDITARI EAM REM TANDEM (SI CAEPTIS ANNVAT DEVS)
INDVLGENTISSIMI PRINCIPIS INCOMPARABILI BENEFICIO RESIGNATIS HONORIEVS, IMPETRAVIT:
ATQ HOC SEPVLCVRVM SIBI, QVOD MORTIS EVM NVNQVAM CESSANTIS ADREPERE QVOTIDIS
COMMONEFACERET, TRANSLATIS HVC PRIORIS VXORIS OSSIEVS EXTRVENDVM CVRAVIT. QVOD
NE SVPERSTES FRVSTRA SIBI FECERIT, NEVE INGRVNTENTM TREPIDVS MORTEM HORREAT, SED
DESIDERIO CHRISTI LIBENS OPPETAT, MORTEMQ VT SIBI NON OMNINO MORTEM, SET IANVAM
VITAE FAELICIORIS INVENIAT: PRECIEVS EVM PIIS LECTOR OPTIME SPIRANTEM PRÆCOR,
DEFVNCTVMQ PROSEQVERE.

Below this epitaph (a translation of which I have given above)
are the following lines, which have been printed amongst More's
epigrams:—

CHARA THOMAE IACET HIC IAONNA VXORCVLA MORI
QVI TVMVLVM ALICIAE HVNC DESTINO: QVIQ MIHI
VNA MIHI DEDIT HOC CONIVNCTA VIRENTIEVS ANNIS
ME VOCET VT PVER ET TRINA PVELLA PATREM.
ALTERA PRIVIGNIS (QVAE GLORIA RARA NOVERCAE EST)
TAM PIA QVAM GNATIS VIX FVIT VLLA SVIS,
ALTERA SIC MECVM VIXIT, SIC ALTERA VIVIT
CHARIOR INCERTVM EST HAEC SIT AN ILLA FVIT.
O! SIMVL, O! IVNCTI POTERAMVS VIVERE NOS TRES
QVAM BENE, SI FATVM, RELIGIOQ SINANT.
AT SOCIET TVMVLVS, SOCIET NOS, OBSECRE COELVM
SIC MORS, NON POTVIT QVOD DARE, VITA, DABIT.

As for these verses, their form I can only commend to those who
can read them in the Latin, and appreciate that touch of classical

feeling which, at that date, few besides More could possibly have given them. Their substance, briefly, is as follows :—

“In this tomb which I have prepared for myself and for my second wife Alice, lies Jane my first wife, the mother of my four children, to whom their step-mother shows such devotion, that I know not which of two such wives is the more dear to me. Ah ! how well could we three have lived together did fate and did religion permit it. But the tomb shall unite us, and Death thus give us what Life could not.”

No more characteristic instance, I think, could be given of More's humour than these last four lines, in which he fearlessly commits himself to so extraordinary a sentiment : and this at the very time when he thought himself safe, in his retirement from the Chancellorship, from the “cumbersome question of the marriage.”

The epitaph has often been printed, but Lysons is the first who gives it as it now stands ; and he appends this note on the blank space after the word *homicidis* :

“This blank space was originally supplied with the words *Hereticisque*. As there is not the least appearance of an erasure having been made, and as the whole inscription is now perfectly legible ; whereas Weever says, that in his time it was scarcely to be read ; it is evident that the whole has since been restored by some descendant, it is probable, or admirer of Sir Thomas More, who hesitated whether he should introduce or suppress a passage so disreputable to his character.” Aubrey, in his “*Lives of Eminent Men*” (vol. ii. page 463), says that after More was beheaded “his trunk was interred in Chelsey Church, near the middle of the south wall, where was some slight monument erected, which being worn by time, about 1644, Sir John Lawrence of Chelsey erected to his memory a handsome inscription of marble.” But the erasure of the word “*hereticisque*” was in fact made by Erasmus in the draft which More sent to him for his approval ; and as the epitaph was cut during More's lifetime, it is easier to suppose that the blank was his own humorous concession to Erasmus.

Upon the front of the base of the monument is fixed a small brass plate, inscribed thus :

"This monument having become dilapidated was restored by voluntary contributions in the year 1833.

"Rev. J. W. Lockwood, Rector."

Of this restoration, Faulkner contributed the following account to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in December 1833:

"A committee of gentlemen was appointed to superintend the renovation, including the Rev. J. W. Lockwood, Rector, C. Hatchett Esq., the Rev. J. Harding, Curate, J. C. Neild Esq., R. N. Cumming Esq., J. Mullins Esq., and the present writer.

"After various meetings held in the Church, an accurate survey was made of the state of the monument and a plan was decided on for its renovation, the execution of which was finally entrusted into the hands of Mr. J. Faulkner, statuary, of Chelsea, who has accomplished his difficult task with so much skill in imitating and preserving the antique style of the various mouldings, frieze, foliage, etc., so that the whole monument now displays a uniform appearance. . . .

"It was the wish of many gentlemen that the large black slab which contains the inscription should be taken down and examined, with the idea that the back might contain the original epitaph as written and erected by Sir Thomas in his lifetime: but upon its removal their expectations were not realised, the slab never having been polished but on one side."

How far the original character of the monument was altered by Lawrence, it is of course impossible to say; for, in addition to the foregoing evidence, there are two other points, hitherto unnoticed, which seem to indicate something more than a mere restoration.

In the first place, the crest, a Moor's head, is now shown upon the tomb as full faced; whereas on the carved capital in the chapel, it is correctly given, namely in profile. But a more important, and at the same time more interesting piece of evidence, is a description of the arms upon the tomb, given by Randle Holme, during the first half of the seventeenth century (MS. Harl., 2113, fol. 114).

In a note of Chelsea Church, Holme writes: "S^r Thomas More Knight ber ar. a chevron engrelde betweene 3 more cocks passant sa.

combes beakes and legges or quartred with ar. a chevron sa. charged wth 3 bezants betweene 3 unycornes heads rasyd sa. passant impald with armyn a fess compound of or et azure. Gu. 3 coronets or in a bordure ingrayld. Or a cross gu. voyded of the field."

These arms are tricked in the margin of the MS. as five quarters; nor is it absolutely clear from the description that the two last shields were "impaled," as stated. At the present time, however, only the first three of these five coats are shown anywhere on the tomb.

After reading the epitaph, and the passages from Weever and Aubrey which I have had occasion to quote, the reader may have taken it for granted that More's body was interred at Chelsea. But, unless established facts are to give place to a romantic tradition, I think it will have to be admitted that the body still lies in the chapel of St. Peter within the Tower, where it is known to have been buried immediately after More's execution on Tower Hill. On the other hand, there is a good deal of evidence in favour of the tradition; and some fresh matter came to light a few years ago which occasioned an article in "The Month" (February 1891) by the late Father John Morris, that goes far towards establishing it. As that was the last word that has been said on the subject it will be well, I think, to look into it more fully.

Weever evidently takes it for granted that the body was removed to Chelsea; and, though he gives no authority for his statements, he is careful to say no more than he knows. Thus, in describing the chapel of St. Peter, he writes :

"The sixth day of July following the decollation of Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, was likewise beheaded on the Tower Hill, for the like deniall of the King's Supremacie; he was first buried in this chappell, and the body of his deare friend Fisher was removed out of Barking Churchyard, and buried with him in the same grave: for agreeing so unanimously in their opinions living, it was (be like) thought unfitting to part them being dead; but how long they lay together in this their house of rest, I certainly know not: yet

this is certain, that Margaret, the wife of Master Roper, and daughter of the said Sir Thomas More, removed her father's corps, not long after, to Chelsey; and whether she honoured the Bishop by another remove to the place of her father's buriall, or not, I know not; yet she might, by all probabilitie" (p. 505).

The Rev. Father Bridgett, in the second edition of his recent "Life of Blessed John Fisher," quotes a passage from a Latin Life of Fisher in the British Museum (Arundel MSS. 152, fol. 234), which states that Fisher's body, by reason of the concourse of devout people to his grave at All Hallows, Barking, was "exhumed, and with the relics of Sir Thomas More cast into an obscure place." The historian continues :—

"But certain chroniclers [rerum observatores] have left on record that the bodies of these holy men did not even rest there, but when the heat of persecution somewhat abated, they were devoutly carried to the village of Chelsea, where Thomas More had resided, near London, and are there kept to this day, entombed in a new monument which he had prepared for himself when he was in favour. But while I was endeavouring to discover by common report or by written records where the precious treasure is hidden, I was interrupted. [Impedita res fuit.] May God . . . grant that some day, when religion revives, and peace is restored to the Church, it may be made known to the faithful where are these longed for relics."

Such being the tradition, let us now review the evidence for and against it. The earliest and most reliable witness is, without doubt, William Roper; and of More's burial Roper says nothing in his Memoir. But in his will, which was proved a few months after his death in the year 1578, though he makes no positive statement, the inference is clear. "My body to be buried at Chelsea," he says, "in the County of Middlesex, in the vault with the body of my dearly beloved wife (whose soul our Lord pardon) where my father-in-law, Sir Thomas More (whose soul Jesus bless), did mind to be buried."

The next evidence is that of Cresacre More: "His head was put upon London-bridge, where traitors' heads are set up upon poles; his body was buried in the chapel of St. Peter-in-the-Tower, in the belfry,

[or as some say, as one entereth into the vestry],* near unto the body of the holy martyr Bishop Fisher, who being put to death just a fortnight before, had small respect done unto him all this while. But that which happened about Sir Thomas' winding sheet was reported as a miracle by my aunt Roper, Mrs. Clement, and Dorothy Collie, wife unto Mr. Harris. Thus it was : his daughter Margaret, having distributed all her money to the poor, for her father's soul, when she came to bury his body at the Tower she had forgotten to bring a sheet ; and there was not a penny of money left amongst them all ; wherefore Mrs. Harris went to the next draper's shop, and agreeing upon the price, made as though she would look for some money in her purse, and then try whether they would trust her or no ; and she found in her purse the same sum for which they agreed, not one penny over or under ; though she knew before, certainly, that she had not one cross about her. This the same Dorothy affirmed constantly to Doctor Stapleton, when they both lived at Doway, in Flanders, in Queen Elizabeth's reign. His shirt, wherein he suffered, all embrued with his blood, was kept very carefully by Doctor Clement's wife, living also beyond the seas, as also his shirt of hair. His head having remained about a month upon London-bridge, and being to be cast into the Thames, because room should be made for divers others, who in plentiful sort suffered martyrdom for the same supremacy, shortly after, it was bought by his daughter Margaret, lest (as she stoutly affirmed before the council, being called before them after for the same matter) it should be food for fishes ; which she buried, where she thought fittest ; it was very well to be known, as well by the lively favour of him which was not all this while in any thing almost diminished ; as also by reason of one tooth which he wanted whilst he lived " (p. 288. ed. Hunter).

Here again there is no mention of the removal to Chelsea, but a circumstantial account, by a member of the family, of the interment in the Tower, and of the removal of the head from London Bridge.

If we accept Roper's testimony we must admit that his wife is buried at Chelsea. And of this, notwithstanding the epitaph at

* This clause is wanting in the MS,

Canterbury, there can be but little doubt. It is probable, however, that More's head, which his daughter had been at such pains to secure, was placed by her in the Roper vault at St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, where it yet remains. Why then, Father Morris argues, should Margaret Roper be buried at Chelsea if her father's head was at Canterbury, unless his body were there? "It was not," he says, "because she had her father's house at Chelsea to live in, for that belonged to the family no longer, but was escheated to the Crown:" and again, "Why, at considerable inconvenience and expense should they (Roper and his wife) have wished to lie at Chelsea, when close to their own doors they had their own family vault, in which was the carum caput of Sir Thomas More himself?"

The answer to this is twofold. In the first place, apart from all other considerations, there can be nothing surprising in Margaret Roper's desire to be buried beside her mother, at Chelsea, where she had spent the greater part of her married life in her father's house. In the second place, Father Morris appears to have overlooked a good deal of evidence which proves that the Ropers' connection with Chelsea was not ended by the confiscation of More's property. In 1541, for instance, William Roper obtained a lease of land in Battersea which was formerly leased to More. (S. P. Hen. 8, 1541.) In the following year Lady More had a grant from the Crown of one of her husband's smaller houses in Chelsea.* In 1543, the year before his wife's death, Roper is mentioned in a Court Roll as a freeholder of the Manor of Chelsea (P. R. O. General Series Portfolios 188 and 205).

Further evidence in this direction may be gathered from the account of the disposal of More's property given by Cresacre More.

"All the land," he says, "was taken away by two Acts of Parliament immediately after Sir Thomas' death; the one Act was to take away lands which the king had given him, and this was somewhat tolerable; the other most violent and tyrannical, to frustrate utterly a

* The house is thus described in the grant:—*Unum messuagium in Chelsey cum pertinentibus in comitatu nostro de Midd: quondam in tenura — Mewtes ac nuper in tenura Edwardi Barker et Edmundi Middleton et modo in tenura rectoris ecclesiae parochialis de Chelsey. . .*" (S. P. Hen. 8, 1542, grant 714 (2) 4 Aug.)

most provident conveyance, which Sir Thomas had made of all his lands and inheritance, which he had settled upon my father, being a child of two years old or more [*c.* 1533] without any fraud or covin, even when as yet no statute had been made about the oath of supremacy ; and therefore before Sir Thomas could commit any such fault against such a statute, much less treason, having reserved to himself only an estate for term of life ; yet all this was taken away contrary to all order of law, and joined to the crown ; but that land which he had conveyed to my uncle Roper and mine aunt, for term of their lives in recompense of their marriage money, that they kept still, because that was done two days before the first conveyance."

The land in question was no doubt "the house and one pightell or close of land," &c. in Chelsea which is mentioned in the grant of More's estate to Pawlet, as having been given by More to William Roper for his life, and of which mention will be found on the next page, and in the chapter on "Danvers House."

CHAPTER VI

BEAUFORT HOUSE

Soon after More's death the custody of his house was entrusted to William Pawlet, afterwards created Marquis of Winchester; and on the accession of Edward VI. Pawlet obtained a grant of the whole of the Chelsea estate in fee, comprising the following premises (Pat. 1 Ed. VI. pt. 3) :

The mansion house and grounds.

"The farm house," with $89\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land in the occupation of Thomas Bean, junior.

Twenty acres and three roods of land in the occupation of Thomas Bean, senior.

The reversion of the house and one pightell or close of land called Butclose, with the barn, garden, &c., which William Roper, Esq., held for the term of his life without any rent, by the gift of Sir Thomas More.

Four acres of land in the occupation of Robert Buckley.

A house in the occupation of Edmund Middleton and Edward Barker.

A house in the occupation of Thomas Seymour and William Arundel.

Six other houses—probably small cottages—separately enumerated.

These premises, together with the old Parsonage and glebe land which Pawlet acquired in 1566, and with the exception of "Evans' Farm" and a few small houses which will be noticed in late chapters, formed practically the whole of the parish to the west of Church Lane, and were held by Pawlet and his successors, the Dacres, until the end

of the sixteenth century, undivided. During the early part of the next century, however, they were gradually split up amongst various owners, and beside the Great House there sprang up out of the smaller ones, as we shall see, the five or six mansions which have contributed most largely to the history of the Parish Church. These I shall notice in turn, beginning with the Great House, better known by its later appellation of Beaufort House.

So far as is known there were no interments in Chelsea Church from this house during Pawlet's occupation. He died there in 1572, and was succeeded by his son John, who married for his second wife Winifred, daughter of Sir John Burgess, and widow of Sir Robert Sackville.*

I was at a loss to account for the Chelsea estate passing, as it did, to Winifred's daughter, Anna Sackville, who was married to Gregory, Lord Dacre, until I chanced to find amongst the State Papers a document endorsed : "The just griefs of the [3rd] Lord Marquis of Winchester against Winyfrede the Lady Marchioness of Winchester his late father's wyfe" (Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. cx.), in which it was alleged, amongst a number of instances of undue influence on the part of Winifred and her people, that in 1575 the house at Chelsea, which cost £14,000, and the land to it worth £14,000, was sold to the Lord Dacre and his wife for £3000, "whereof payed in truthe but £2000." I have since discovered that this conveyance was made by an indenture of bargain and sale dated 28 February 1575 ; the house had been leased to Henry Ughtred Esq. in the previous year for a term of 40 years if Lady Winchester should so long live, and this lease was assigned to Lord Dacre and his wife on the 14 November 1583 (Claus. 41 Eliz. pt. 23 ; Cecil to Lincoln).

Lord and Lady Dacre died within a few months of each other, their burials being recorded in the Parish Registers as follows :

"1594. Gregorie Fynes Lord Dacres of the Sowth died the xxvth day of Septemb beinge Weddendaie Whose funeralls & buriall were kepte the 5th of Novembere here at Chelsey."

* She bequeathed £6 13s. 4d. "to the pore and lame people within the p'ishe of Chelsey."

"1595. The La. Anne wife to the right honorable Lord Dacres afore named was buried the xvth of Maij Whose funeralls were solemnized at Chelsey the xixth of June followinge."

The Dacre monument stands against the south wall of the body of the Church, near the western arch of the More Chapel. On an altar tomb richly moulded and inlaid with panels of black and red marble, lie the recumbent effigies, carved in alabaster, of Lord and Lady Dacre; he in a complete suit of richly damascened armour; she in the habit of the time, with ruff, mantle, and bonnet: they both have a dog at their feet.

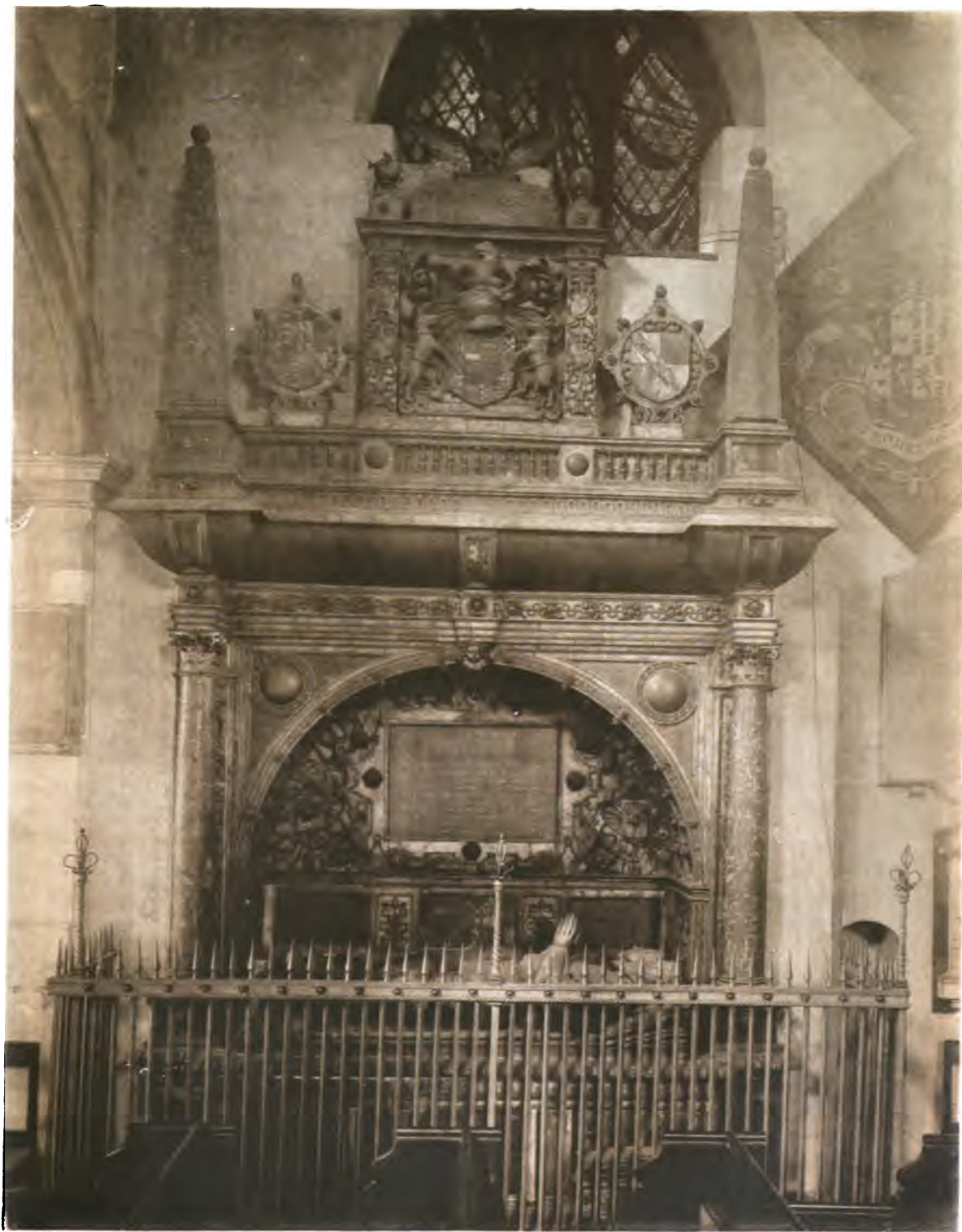
Upon the central panel on the face or front of the altar tomb is cut this inscription:

NOBILIS ANNA IACES PRVDENS SACKVILLIA PROLES
VIVA TVI DEFLES FVNERA MOESTA VIRI.
NIL MORTALE PLACET, COELVM TVA PECTORA SPIRANT
POSTQ. PARCA VIRI CONSCIDIT ATRA DIEM
FAEMINEI LVX CLARA CHORI, PIA, CASTA, PVDICA,
AEGRIS SUBSIDIVM PAVPERIBVSQ. DECVS.
FIDA DEO. PERCHARA TVIS, CONSTANSQ. DISERTA
VT PATIENS MORBI, SIC PIETATIS AMANS.
O QVOTIES MANIBVS PASSIS AD CVLMINA COELI
HANC ANIMAM DIXTI, SVSCIPE QVAESO DEVS
MENS PIA, COELESTIS PATRIAE PERVENIT AD ARCEM,
HIC TVMVLVS CORPVS MENTIS INANE TENET.

Beside it, near the heads of the effigies, lies the tiny recumbent figure of their daughter in a child's gown and ruff.

The altar tomb is partially set in a recess, the arch of which on the inside is coffered and carved with roses. The wall at the back of this recess is covered with carved and painted arabesques, surrounding a table of black touchstone which bears this inscription:

IN OBITVM NOBILISSIMORVM
CONIVGVM GREGORII D.
DACRES ET ANNÆ VXORIS.
QVOS ARDENS COPVLAVIT AMOR IUVENILIBVS ANNIS
ABSTVLIT ATRA DIES, MORS INOPINA RAPIT



MONUMENT OF LORD AND LADY DACRE

ILLE PRIOR FATIS DACRORVM NOBILE GERMEN
 OCCIDIT : IN MORBVM AT INCIDIT ILLA PRIV
 QVAE LANGVESCENDO MISERÆ PRÆTEDIA VITÆ
 SENSIT, TAM DVLCI CONIVGE CASSA SVO.
 VT TENERI CORDIS CONCORDIA IVNXERAT AMBOS
 SIC IDEM AMBORVM CONTEGIT OSSA LOCVS
 OVOS IVNGIT TVMVLVS CONIVNGVNT COELICA TECTA
 VT TENEANT COELVM OVI TENVERE FIDEM.

In the 4th line, *priu* should be *prius*. In the last two, *ovos* and *ovi* should be *quos* and *qui*. As the other epitaph is correct throughout, it would seem that this one may have been re-cut.

On either side of this inscription are two smaller tables or panels ; that on the dexter side is inscribed :

NOBILIS ISTE VIR OBIIT 25
 SEPTEMB 1594

That on the sinister side :

NOBILIS ISTA MVLIER OBIIT
 14 MAII 1595

At either end of this recess is a pilaster profusely decorated with arabesques, in front of which is a Corinthian column of red marble, the capital gilt, resting on a pedestal. Above the arch of the recess is a rich entablature with a carved frieze, which is returned at either end above the columns. The cornice of this entablature, like the balustrade, exhibits one of those misconceptions of Italian architecture which characterise the Elizabethan manner.

Above the columns are two "Pyramids of freckled marble"; between which, in an attic, is the achievement of Lord Dacre; the whole being surmounted by an allegorical carving of Time, Death, and Judgment, symbolised by a winged skull, an hour-glass, and a balance.

The arms on the shield in the attic are these :

- Azure, 3 lions or for Fiennes quartering : 1. Gules 3 escallops argent for Dacre.
 2. Argent 3 bars gules a label azure for Moulton. 3. Checky or and gules, for Vaux.
 4. Azure, semée de lys and fretty or for Morville. 5. Azure a chief or, 3 chevronels

in base interlaced for Fitzhugh. 6. Barry of 8 argent and gules a fleur de lys sable for Staveley. 7. Azure a bend between 6 cross crosslets or for Furneaux. 8. Barry of 6 argent & azure on a bend gules 3 martlets or for Grey. 9. Vaire a fesse gules for Marmion. 10. Or 3 chevrons gules a chief vaire for St. Quintin. 11. Barry of 10 or & azure an eagle displayed gules for Gernegan.

The crest is an eagle's head, or : the motto POVR BIEN DESIRER.

On the dexter side of the attic is another shield bearing the same arms impaling quarterly or and gules, a bend vair for Sackville. On the sinister side a similar shield bearing Sackville alone.

This monument, which is an unusually fine example of Elizabethan sculpture, is still protected by the original grille, consisting of plain tall quadrangular railings of wrought iron, with standards at the corners and in the centre.

It was Lady Dacre who founded Emanuel Hospital in Westminster : a charity in which Chelsea still has its share on condition of keeping this monument in repair, as set forth in the "Statutes and Ordinances" made by her executors.

"We ordain that two poor people shall be chosen and taken out of the Parish of Chelsea, and that every of the said poor people shall have liberty to keep and bring up one poor child within the said Hospital, so as the child be brought up in some good and laudable art or science, whereby he or she may the better, in time to come, live by their honest labour. Provided always, that if the inhabitants of the parish, or some of them, shall not, from time to time, keep and maintain the chapel, at Chelsea, wherein a tomb for the Lord and Lady Dacre is erected, in good preservation, and also cause the said tomb to be kept dry and clean at all times, within one month next after warning given publicly at the same Church, upon the Sabbath day, immediately after the divine service, in the hearing of two of the inhabitants of the parish at least, by the executors, or any of them ; and after their decease by the Lord Mayor of London, or Aldermen, that the Chapel is not well repaired or well kept, and the said made clean and dry, that the Inhabitants and Parish of Chelsea shall ever after lose the benefit of having any poor people of the Parish of Chelsea placed in the said Hospital from thenceforth."

The election, since 1844, has been made by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen : but originally the inhabitants of the parish conducted it, as appears from the following notice, which is amongst the Scudamore Papers (Add. MSS. 11,056 fol. 288) at the British Museum :

“ Whereas there is a place void in the Lady Dacre’s Almshouses, which is to be bestowed either by the free choice of the inhabitants of this Parish or else by her successors, that hath the repair of her aisle and monument in the Parish Church according to her last Will and Testament : so it is that you are to give warning to the Churchwardens, to the Overseers of the poor and to the rest of the Parish, that there be a day appointed for the general meeting of the inhabitants at the Parish Church concerning this election, whereby it may be performed according to the last Will and Testament of the foundress, which just course ought not in any sort to be impiously violated as hath been of late practised by some of the inhabitants by private suffrages and indirect courses, being such as have no more interest in the business than has common inhabitants. For the avoiding of which odious disorder and indirect practice you are to give warning to the whole Parish in manner aforesaid. And that a day of meeting for the due performance thereof be nominated, and public warning to be given hereof at the Church accordingly, as you will answer the neglect of your duty in that behalf at your perils.

“ September 9th, 1624.

“ A. GORGES.

“ To the Constable and Head Boroughs of Chelsea in the County of Middlesex and to any other Officer of the same to whom it doth or may appertain.”

The condition has been faithfully fulfilled, whenever it has been insisted upon. The first occasion recorded is in 1695, when five shillings was “ paid to Thomas Burt for cleaning Lady Dacre’s tomb ” (Faulkner). Another entry in the Parish Books, dated December 27, 1729, after reciting the conditions, and that “ the Churchwardens of the said Parish of S. Margarets Westminster have viewed the said tomb and have complained that the same is out of repair,” continues

with an unanimous resolution to have the tomb forthwith repaired. "In 1823," says Faulkner, "the monument was thoroughly painted and beautified at an expense of £80," and as the Church was not restored until 1832, this expenditure was probably in compliance with a requisition from the City.

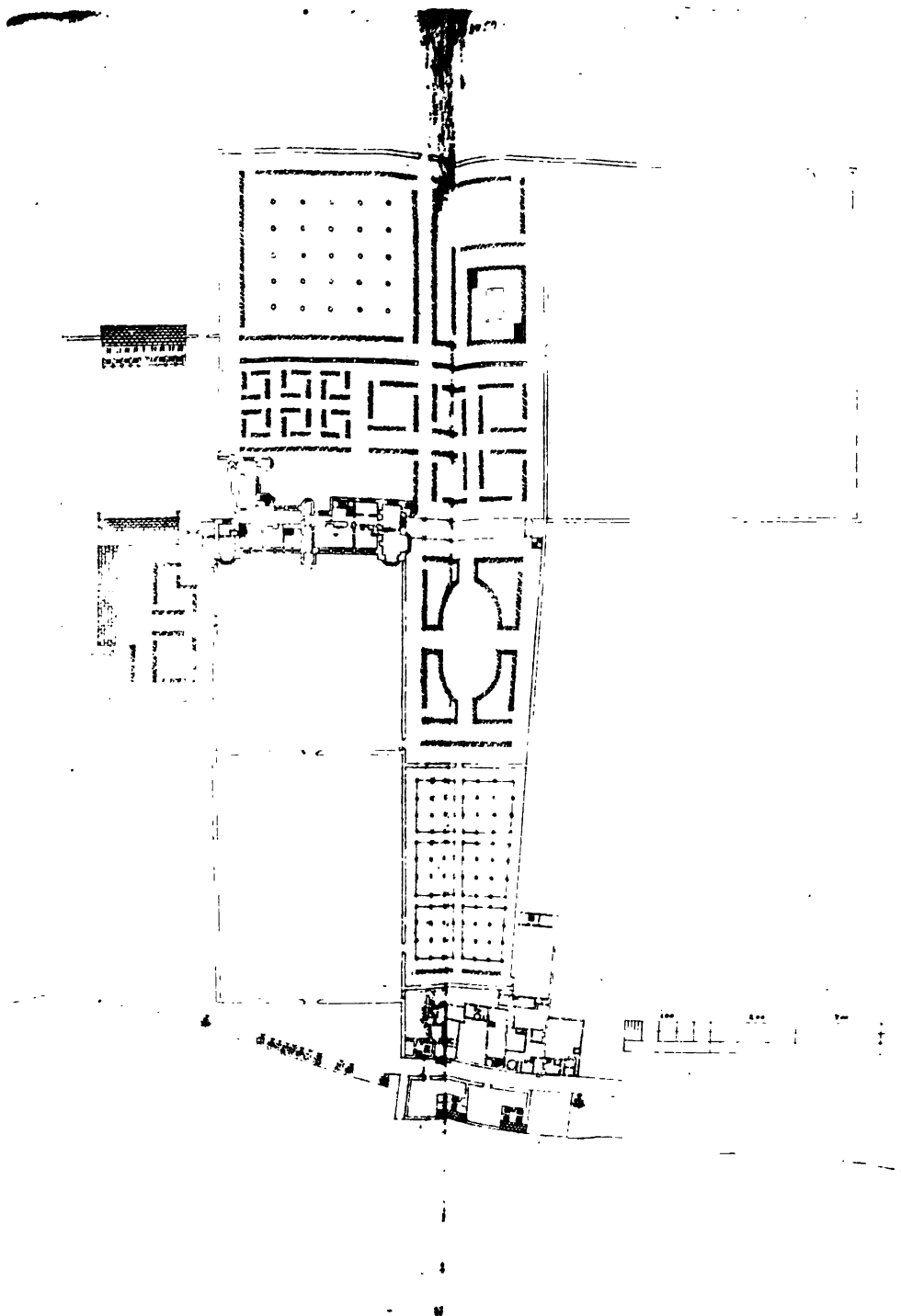
My father, the present Incumbent, gives the following account of what has been done since he came to the Church in 1855 :

"Many years ago, one fine Sunday morning, the beadle and the pew-openers were thrown into a high state of excitement by a grand City carriage being driven up to the Church door, and two civic dignitaries alighting to attend the service. The result of this visit was a considerable brushing up of the monument, but no more. We were left undisturbed for a long while, and then once more the call of duty was obeyed ; this time by a solitary sheriff, who must have come, I think, by omnibus, for there was no sign of carriage or footmen : but he meant business. He went back to office and reported that it was Chelsea who was failing in duty. . . . Consequently we at once set to work to restore the Dacre monument. It was put in charge of Mr. Philip, the eminent sculptor, then residing here : he entered on his task *con amore*, and after two or three months left the monument as you now see it " (1886).

In 1901 Sir Whittaker Ellis paid an official visit, and satisfied himself that no repairs were needed.

Lady Dacre devised her Chelsea property to Lord Burleigh (whom she also appointed overseer of the will) for life, with remainder to his son Sir Robert Cecil.

It is possible that Burleigh occupied the house for a couple of years after Lady Dacre's death, but in 1597 it was rebuilt by his son, Sir Robert Cecil. Faulkner mentions a tradition that the "Queen's Elm" owes its appellation to Burleigh, which may have some foundation in fact. "It appears by the Church Book, beginning 1586," wrote Lord Cheyne (Faulkner, vol. i. p. 151 n.), "that the tree at the end of the Duke's Walk is in Chelsea Parish, called the Queen's Tree ; and that there was an arbour built round it by one Bostocke at the charge of the Parish." The tradition related by Faulkner is that



MORE'S HOUSE AT CHELSEA, AS REBUILT BY
SIR ROBERT CECIL IN 1596.

From a plan at Hatfield House.

the Queen was walking out with Lord Burleigh when a heavy shower came on. They took refuge under an elm tree growing on this spot, and the Queen said, "Let this henceforth be called the Queen's Tree."

The tavern called "The Queen's Elm" is of comparatively modern date, standing at the north-east corner of the ground known later as Lord Wharton's Park

I am indebted to the Marquis of Salisbury for permission to reproduce the plate opposite this page, which is one of the most interesting documents concerning Chelsea that have yet come to light. It is inscribed "the Ground Plat of Chelsey with a gallery to y^e North," and shows not only the new house as laid out for Cecil in 1597, with the grounds, but also two buildings (in elevation) which most probably belonged to More's house, besides various others which adjoined, but did not include, Danvers' House.

Cecil had only been in Chelsea two years when he sold the house to Henry, second Earl of Lincoln, as appears by a letter amongst the State Papers, dated 6 March, 1598-9, written by Richard Percival to Sir Robert Cecil, urging him not to break off with the bargain, as he seemed inclined to, as "the land estate being now settled with remainders in Sir Arthur Gorges and my Lady his wife [Lincoln's daughter] it will ask much trouble with fines and recoveries to reduce it to you as it was before." The conveyance is entered on the Close Roll 41 Eliz. pt. 23, being dated the last day of February 41 Eliz. [1599] and made between Sir Robert Cecil of the one part and Henry Earl of Lincoln, Sir Arthur Gorges and dame Elizabeth his wife, only daughter of the said Earl, of the other part. The consideration is £6000. A schedule of documents relating to the property is appended.

Lincoln appears to have resided here till his death in 1615. "Mr. Robert Fynes therle of Lyncolns sonne" was buried in the Church on March 22, 1608-9.

The most interesting record of Lincoln's residence in Chelsea is a letter amongst the Hatfield Papers, apparently written in the early part of the year 1601. "Our very good Lord," it runs, "such hath been the mischance and great folly of your servants at Chelsea as when

Her Majesty did lately ride abroad and was accompanied with the Scottish Ambassador, she was very desirous to have gone into your house and gardens, from whence she was kept out in so rude a fashion as we protest unto you your enemies wanted not à colour to say it was by your direction : for after a great knocking at both gates some of your people did not only show themselves within but some of them looked out of the house and over the walls. These things did not a little trouble the Queen, though she would make no speech of it then but we have found it since so suspiciously to move in her, as she did almost seem to take it to be done of purpose. Whereupon we (out of our care that she should not in any public place speak disgracefully of you) did first assure her that when you went away you did hope to see her there and had provided for her Majesty and that being constrained to go away you told us that whensoever you might know she had a desire to come thither you would come up again for that purpose, rather than she should think you unwilling to give Her Majesty all contentment . . . we that have no other end but your own good have even adventured to make good your offer, and so upon Saturday next Her Majesty will dine there. . . ."

On Lincoln's death the whole Chelsea estate passed, under the settlement above mentioned, to Sir Arthur Gorges and his wife ; and four years later, in 1619, Gorges sold the Great House to Lionel Cranfield, afterwards Earl of Middlesex, who also purchased "Brickbarn Close" and "The Sandhills," lying behind his house on the further side of the King's Road, and enclosed them with a brick wall. This enclosure was henceforth known as "The Park," and was subsequently acquired by Lord Wharton.

"James, son of Lionel Lord Cranfield," was baptized at Chelsea 27th December, 1621, an occasion of such importance as to be thus noticed by Chamberlain in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton. "My very goode Lord," he writes, on 4th January, 1621-2, "the last weeke afforded little more than the great christening of the L. Treasurer's sonne at Chelsey, where the King, the L. Marquis and Duches of Lennox were gossips, and the King gave the child a 1000^l land as the report goes." (State Papers, Domestic, James I. vol. cxxvii.)

A few years later, however, Cranfield lost favour, and within a few months of the accession of Charles I. was forced to surrender his house.

Two years later, Charles granted it to Buckingham (Pat. 3 Car., pt. 35, No. 4).

The Duchess continued to live at Chelsea after her husband's assassination, as appears from an entry in the Parish Books of one shilling "given to the ringers at his Majesties' coming to the Duchess's House," in 1632.

On 25 May 1643, "The Lady Washington" was buried in the Church, whom I suppose to be Anne, half-sister to the first Duke of Buckingham, and wife to Sir William Washington.

In 1646 (April 10), the "Perfect Occurrences" records that the Duchess of Lennox, daughter to the Duke of Buckingham, being then at Oxford, successfully petitioned the Lords for leave to come to London, or to her house at Chelsea, to be under Dr. Mayerne's hands for her health. Soon after the outbreak of the Civil War, the house was seized by the Parliament, and in 1649 was granted by them to the two first Commissioners for an official residence. Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke and John Lisle accordingly entered into possession, the former remaining there until the Restoration.

On 14 December 1654, "William Lyle, y^e sonn of y^e Lord John Lyle," was buried; and on 4 June 1655, "Frances, daughter of the Lord Commissioner Whitelocke," was baptized at the Church.

"After the Restoration," says Lysons, "George, the second Duke of Buckingham, celebrated for his wit and profligacy, recovered his estates, and was possessor of this house for a few years, but was soon obliged to dispose of it for the benefit of his creditors, and it was accordingly sold to John Godden, Esq., and others, for their use in the year 1664. James Plummer, one of the principal creditors, was the person in whose name it was aliened, in 1674, to Strode and others in trust for George Digby, Earl of Bristol, who is said to have died at Chelsea. He bequeathed his house at Chelsea to his Countess, who, in the month of January 1682, sold it to Henry, Marquis of Worcester, afterwards Duke of Beaufort; from this time it was

known by the appellation of Beaufort House, and continued to be the occasional residence of that noble family till about the year 1720. After having stood empty for several years, it was purchased by Sir Hans Sloane in 1737, and pulled down."

The two last entries in the Register relating to the house are those of the marriage of the Hon. Algernon Greville with the Hon. Mary Somerset, granddaughter to the Duchess Dowager of Beaufort (24 December 1711), and Charles Duke of Grafton with Lady Henrietta Somerset (10 April 1713).

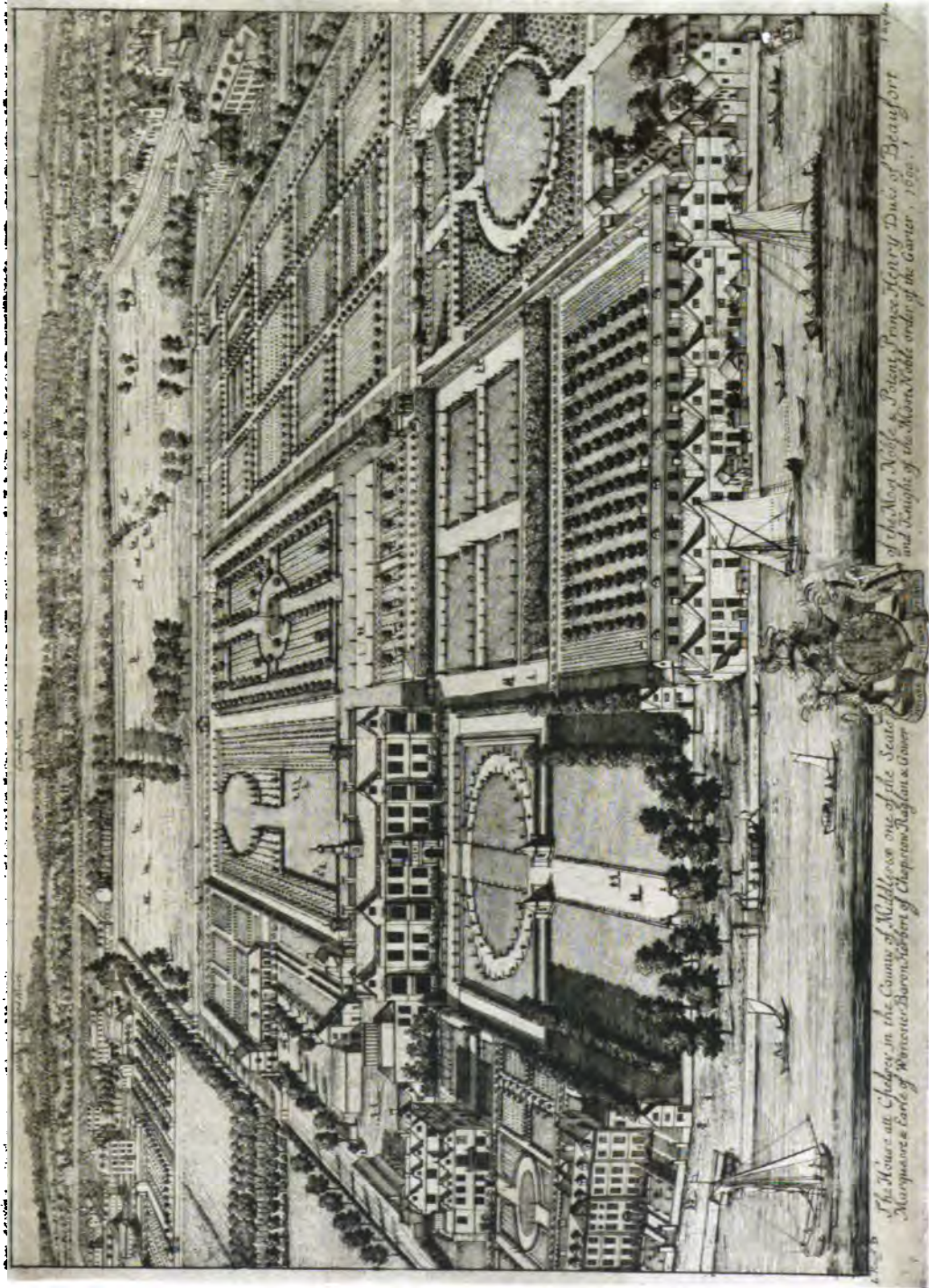
I will conclude my short account of this remarkable house by quoting the description of it from the conveyance to Sir Hans Sloane—only suppressing a few legal redundancies—which will be found to be an exact guide to the view which is reproduced opposite to this page, and a convenient introduction to the next two or three chapters. This view was drawn by Leonard Knyff, whose work Walpole disparages; but in this instance I have found it wonderfully accurate, and invaluable in tracing every detail of all the lands which it includes. It is engraved by Kip and dated 1699, but was no doubt drawn a few years earlier, before Danvers Street was built (1696).

Conveyance of Beaufort House &c. dated 25 July 1737 from the Duke of Beaufort to Sir Hans Sloane of,

1. The capital mansion &c. heretofore in the possession of George late Duke of Buckingham, and since of George late Earl of Bristol and after that of Henry 1st Duke of Beaufort grandfather of the present Duke and after that of Mary Duchess Dowager of Beaufort deceased that is to say. One capital messuage or great house heretofore called the greatest house in Chelsea, now Beaufort House, with

2. Two great forecourts adjoining environed with brick walls whereof the east and south walls belong to the house and the west wall is a partible wall dividing the two forecourts from the garden belonging to the messuage where Sir Arthur Gorges sometimes dwelt and from the garden and backyard belonging to the (other) messuage there heretofore in the occupation of Sir Edward Cecil; which wall is to be repaired and maintained at the equal costs and charges of the owners of the said capital messuage and the heirs and assigns of Sir Arthur Gorges respectively

3. Also a wharf lying before the two forecourts, environed with brick walls of which the south and west walls belong to the wharf, which wharf extends from the forecourts to the Thames side on the south and to a high brick tower at the west end and the like brick tower at the east end; together with the high water tower standing upon the west corner of the wharf . . . the said wharf being divided on the



east side from a tenement heretofore occupied by Edward Smith Esq or his assigns by a brick wall belonging to that tenement, stretching north and south; and by the little brick wall belonging to a tenement heretofore in the occupation of William Whitehand, and stretching likewise north and south: on the west side with the brick wall belonging to the wharf.

4. Also one orchard environed with brick walls belonging to the house, save that so much of the wall on the east side whereon a tenement heretofore in the occupation of Thomas Clarvee stands is partible and to be repaired and maintained at the equal charges of the owners of the capital messuage and the heirs and assigns of Sir Arthur Gorges. Which said orchard extends to the said tenement heretofore in the occupation of Edward Smith on the south, and to the tenement heretofore in the occupation of Thomas Clarvee and to the garden late Sir John Danvers' on the east, and to the wall of the lowest of the two forecourts on the west.

5. Also one garden environed with brick walls and having a pyramid standing up in the middle and a terrace on the north end with a banqueting house on the east end of the terrace.

6. Also one great garden environed with brick walls lying on the north and east sides of the capital messuages, extending from the said house and from the terrace and banqueting house unto the highway on the north, and lying between a close now or late called Dovecote close on the east and a great yard called the kitchen yard or garden on the west.

7. Also the great kitchen yard or garden on the west side of the house and of the said great garden with all the buildings on the south end of the same and with the brick barn and stable on the north side; which yard extendeth to the backyard and buildings belonging to the said late dwelling house of Sir Arthur Gorges on the south and to the stable yard and close there on the west and to a plot of ground lying next the highway on the north and to the said great yard on the east (then follow the boundaries, the south and west walls being half Gorges').

8. All that "messuage or newe house covered with blew slate or tyle" adjoining near to the back gate which fronts the high way, with a garden thereto belonging, which garden adjoins the great kitchen garden.

9. All the vendor's interest in that pipe or watercourse from a certain spring or conduit head at Kensington to the said capital messuage and premises except and always reserved a certain small leaden pipe conveying water from the great pipe to a piece of ground called the Park sometime belonging to the capital messuage, which said park was conveyed to the Lord Viscount Cornbury and others by indenture bearing date 4 May 1670, in which indenture it was covenanted that the purchasers were to pay their reasonable share towards maintaining the said conduit, pipes &c.

[NOTE.—This water-supply was the subject of litigation between Lord Cheyne and the Duke of Beaufort in 1702, the proceedings on which were renewed by Sir Hans Sloane in 1716, when a good deal of curious information was elicited, which is summarised by Faulkner (vol. ii. p. 14).]

10. Except and reserved free passage for Sir Arthur Gorges' heirs and assigns over the wharf for all his houses.

11. Also all the several messuages cottages or tenements now or late in the respective occupations and at the respective rents following. Andrew Frazer £20. Robert Thomas £20. John Driver £8. Godfrey Cunningham £8. Adrian Westerband £7. Benjamin Tubbat £6. Luke Gough £6. John Harrison £6 and — Crane £5.

All which premises were conveyed by indentures of 25th and 26th Jan. 1681-2 made between Christopher Cratford of London Gentleman of the one part and Henry 1st Duke of Beaufort of the other part.

(Middlesex Registry, 1737, Bk. 2, No. 585 &c.).

CHAPTER VII

GORGES HOUSE

A COMPARISON of Cecil's ground-plan with Kip's view shows that Gorges house, standing immediately to the south-west of the great house, was not in existence in 1597, so that it must have been built either by Lord Lincoln or by Sir Arthur Gorges himself. The former is more probable, as Gorges appears to have been settled in Chelsea not long after his marriage with Lincoln's daughter, through whom he acquired all the More estate, including the chapel, which he reserved to this house as above mentioned. He died in 1625.

The two brasses affixed to the north wall of this chapel are all that now remains of his tomb, which was described by Bowack as "a monument raised about four feet from the ground, with the effigies of Sir Arthur, his lady, and three (*sic*) sons and five daughters, in brass plates fixed thereon, and the inscription :

In obitum Illustrissimi viri Domini
Arthuri Gorges Equitis Aurati Epicaedium

Te deflent nati natae celeberrima conjux
Te dolet argutae magna caterva scholae
At Lucanus ait se vivo non moriturum
Arthurum Gorges transtulit ipse decus
Aethereas cupiens Arthurus adire per auras
Et novus ex ejus nomine natus adest.

Lysons says that "no trace of this now remains"; and Faulkner makes the same observation. But in the letter quoted in my first

chapter, describing the restoration which the Church was undergoing in 1832, Faulkner mentions the recovery of these two brasses from under the floor of the chapel ; at which time, no doubt, they were placed in their present position.

Upon the larger plate are engraved the effigies of Sir Arthur Gorges and his wife, kneeling on either side of a table, with their six sons and five daughters kneeling behind them. The knight and his eldest son are represented in half armour ; the younger sons in doublets, cloaks, and loose breeches.

On the smaller plate is engraved an achievement of arms, thus :

Quarterly of 4, 1. Lozengy or and gules a chevron gules (Gorges, ancient). 2. Argent a whirlpool azure (Gorges). 3. Argent on a chief gules 3 bezants (Russell). 4. Sable 3 fusils in fess between 3 stage faces argent (Budockshead). Impaling argent 6 cross-crosslets fitchée sable 3, 2, and 1, on a chief azure 2 mullets or, pierced gules (Clinton).

Crest. A greyhound's head.

Sir Arthur was the third son of Sir William Gorges, Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, and Winifred, daughter and co-heiress of Roger Budockshead of South Budeaux, in Devonshire, and his wife Frances, daughter of Sir Philip Champernowne, of Modbury, in the same county. Dame Winifred Gorges was thus aunt to Sir Walter and Sir Carew Raleigh. Sir William's grandfather was Sir Edmund Gorges, of Wraxall, in Somersetshire, who married Anne, eldest daughter of Sir John Howard, first Duke of Norfolk.

In 1584 Arthur Gorges married his first wife, Douglas, only child and heiress of Henry Howard, second Viscount Howard of Bindon, and granddaughter of Sir Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk. She died in 1590, barely two years after giving birth to her only child, Ambrosia, and her death was the occasion of Spenser's Elegy, "Daphnaida," which was published in the year following.

"The occasion why I wrote the same," says Spenser in dedicating this poem to Helena, Marchioness of Northampton (wife of Sir Arthur's uncle, Sir Thomas Gorges), "was as well the great good fame which I heard of her deceased, as the particular goodwill which I beare unto her husband, Master Arthur Gorges, a lover of learning and vertue,



SIR ARTHUR GORGES (d. 1625) AND HIS FAMILY

From a (reversed) impression printed off the actual brass plate

who
the
this
rep
Co
ing

whose house as yore Ladiship by mariage hath honoured, so doe I find the name of them by many noble records to be of great antiquity in this Realme ; and such as have ever borne themselves with honourable reputation to the world and unspotted loyaltie to their Prince and Country . . .”

In this elegy Gorges is introduced as the shepherd Alcyon mourning for Daphne :

“Alcyon he, the jollie Shepheard swaine
That wont full merrilie to pipe and daunce,
And fill with pleasure every wood and plaine.”

Daphne's last words are of Ambrosia :

“Yet ere I goe, a pledge I leave with thee
Of the late love the which betwixt us past,
My young Ambrosia ; in lieu of mee,
Love her ; so shall our love for ever last
Thus, deare ! adieu, whom I expect ere long.’
So having said, away she softly past :
Weep, Shepheard ! weep, to make mine undersong.”

Alcyon appears again in “Colin Clout,” amongst the bards, thus :

“And there is sad Alcyon bent to mourne
Though fit to frame an everlasting dittie ;
Whose gentle spight for Daphne's death doth tourne
Sweet lays of love to endless plaints of pitie.
Ah ! pensive boy, pursue that brave conceipt
In thy sweet eglantine of merrifloure ;
Lift up thy notes unto their wonted height,
That may my muse and mates to murth allure.”

Sir Egerton Brydges, in the “Restituta,” and Todd in his *Life of Spenser*, have bestowed some notice on Gorges, and have printed one or two slight pieces from his pen : but his only considerable works in verse are the translation of Lucan's “*Pharsalia*,” published in 1614, but never reprinted, and a manuscript poem in Lord Ellesmere's library

at Bridgewater House, consisting of 200 six-line stanzas, entitled "The Olympian Catastrophe," which was composed on the death of Prince Henry in 1612. He also translated Bacon's "Veterum Sapientia"; and amongst Lord Leconfield's manuscripts at Petworth is an account written by him of the "Island's Voyage," which is printed in Samuel Purchas' "Pilgrims." In this expedition he commanded the *Wastspite*, under Robert Devereux: while his kinsman, Sir Walter Raleigh, was Vice-Admiral; and on his return in 1597, he was knighted. In Camden's Elizabeth he is mentioned amongst those who volunteered for service against the Armada, and the following letter from him to Sir Robert Cecil (Hatfield Papers, vol. v. p. 292), dated 28 July 1595, shows that, like his cousin Raleigh, he was bred to the sea.

"Yesternight I heard some conceit of my Lord Admiral's going to the seas, and myself being no less ready to expose my life and fortune in the service of Her Majesty, do beseech you to make known unto her Highness my dutiful disposition to attend that noble gentleman in such employments, having hereto served four or five times in her Highness's ships. I do not affect the sea service with any hope of benefit, but only as ready to follow true honour in the loyal service of my Prince and Country."

One of the earliest entries in the Registers at Chelsea relating to the Gorges is that of the death of Ambrosia, when scarcely twelve years old: "1600. Ambrosia, filia dñi Arthuri Gorge obiit 10 die Octob. et sepulta in Collegio Westmonast 22 ejusdem mensis."

Doubtless she was buried in her mother's grave, in the chapel of St. Paul. She was baptized at St. Martin in the Fields, January 2, 1588-9. For the story of her short life we must turn from the "Daphnaida," where we first meet her, to records more prosaic. It is difficult in these days to understand the conduct, in those, of such matters as the wardship and marriage of a great heiress, when a child like Ambrosia was marketed, much as an advowson is to-day. And in this case the matter appears the more sordid, as Ambrosia's heir, in default of her leaving issue, was her great uncle, the third Viscount Bindon ("a peevish fool," as Raleigh called him), who was continually harassing Gorges in the disposal of her hand. Amongst the Hat-

field papers is a petition from Sir Arthur Gorges, shortly after his daughter's death, to the Privy Council, which recites, amongst other things, that he was offered ten thousand pounds for her match in marriage, but that at the same time he was ordered to "deliver uppe ye bodie of his saide daughter to ye Master of ye Wardes or else to enter into six thousand pound bonds not to contract her but by leave and order of ye saide Courte." There was some doubt as to the rights of this order, "but in conclusion hee presented her Ma^{ty} wth a bractlett of great pearles fastned with a locker of Diamond and Rubyes wth cost 500^l for her favour therein and yet was afterward fyned to paye more unto her Ma^{ty} 1000^l for ye wardship of her bodie."

There are numerous letters, too, amongst the Hatfield papers, and elsewhere, relating to Gorges' disputes with Lord Bindon, and the various proposals for Ambrosia's hand; but to mention them is enough.

Sir Arthur was buried at Chelsea on 10 October 1625, and Lady Elizabeth on July 29 1643. Their children were as follows : *

William.—Born 17th, baptized 30th, May 1599, and buried 17th March 1599–1600, at Chelsea.

Arthur.—Mentioned as the eldest son in the Inquisition taken at his father's death in 1625, then 24 years of age. Buried at Chelsea 22 August 1661.

Timoleon.—Baptized 1 October 1600, born August 25, and buried (as "Timothy") 15 April 1629, at Chelsea.

Egremont.—Mentioned in the Inquisition as third son. Buried at Chelsea 2 February 1637–8.

Carew.—Mentioned in the Inquisition as fourth son (living in 1614).

Henry.—Mentioned in the Inquisition as fifth son. Buried at Chelsea 13 May 1641.

Daughters—

Frances.—Buried at Barnes 6 April 1606.

* I am indebted to Lady Elizabeth Cust for many of the genealogical data following.

Frances.—Baptized at Richmond 27 May 1608. Buried at Chelsea 9 June 1622.

Elizabeth.—The eldest surviving daughter.

Dudley.—Second surviving daughter.

Of Arthur, the eldest son and heir, I will make mention later. Timoleon was entered at Christ Church, Oxford, and became a fellow of All Souls. But he was not long destined for a peaceful career, for after receiving a pardon in 1628 for killing Anthony Coxe "by a sword thrust in the nose," he met his death in the following year at the hands of John Payton, who was tried before the Court of Virge of the King's household, but found guilty only of manslaughter.

The name of Carew Gorges is preserved in a curious manner. I have mentioned that the only published poem of any importance by Sir Arthur Gorges was the translation of Lucan, which appeared in the year 1614. At this date Carew was but twelve years old, at most; a circumstance which shall be my excuse for giving in full the dedication to the book which, whether it be taken as a conceit of the author's, or in reality the boy's composition, is, I think, an unique instance.

To the Right Noble and Vertuous Lady Lucy Countess of Bedford my most honoured Lady and Mistresse.

Madame—the least good documents which we learne in our youth may in some part of our life serve us to use. I remember this sentence in my Pueriles—*Voluntas ubi desunt vires est laudanda*: Where power is wanting the good will is to be accepted. Which I presume will be my warrant in presenting your Ladyship with this poeme, which by chance I did see in my father's study amongst many other Manuscripts. And because it lay idly there, I desired him to give it me, who then asking what I would do with it, I told him that I would present it to my Lady and Mistresse. Which humour of mine he seemed very well to like; but he answered that it was not faire enough written for her reading. Whereunto I replied that if I might have it I would amend that fault, and get it printed by the helpe of my Schoole Maister and in that sort offer it. Whereto my father said that he liked so well of my devotion to so noble a Mistresse, as that he would freely give mee. The which now (as mine owne) I do humbly recommend to your honourable acceptance, as some testimony of my devoted zeale, untill yeares, and ability shall second my indeavours with parts more answerable to my desire. And in the meane season I will perswade my selfe that this

poore present is the more aptly offered, knowing that the reading of Heroicall actions do as properly belong to noble and vertuous Ladies as the acting of them to worthy and vertuous knights. Besides that, your Ladyship is an honourable lover and Patronesse of learning and the Muses, an instinct naturally ingrafted in your excellent spirit by that worthy blood of the *Sydenhes* wherewith you do so nearly participate and whose perfection did so eminently shine in that hopefull young Lord your late brother, one of the mirrours of our Age. Now if this may but receive your honourable applause, as some pledge of my devotion, I will never think that I need to be ashamed to flutter with my father's feathers. And so am ever ready to approve myself

Your Ladyship's most humble
and faithfull servant
CAREW GORGES.

Henry Gorges married, but the name of his wife is not known. She was three times remarried, and died a widow in 1690.

Elizabeth, the eldest surviving daughter, married first, Sir Robert Stanley (of whom presently), and secondly, her cousin Theophilus, fourth Earl of Lincoln. She was buried at Chelsea on 5 May 1675. "Margaret, daughter to the Earl of Lincoln," and "George Fines, son of the Earle of Lincoln," who were baptized at Chelsea on 9 August 1628, and 21 September 1629 respectively, were the children of Theophilus by his first wife. It is probable that he was living with his aunt, Lady Elizabeth Gorges.

"S^r Robert Lane Knight and M^{rs} Dudley Gorges were married by license fro y^e Archb. of Cant. Aug. 12th" at Chelsea, 1619. He was buried in Westminster Abbey in 1624, and his widow was buried at Chelsea 24 August 1667.

Two documents preserved with the Scudamore Papers afford a glimpse of Lady Elizabeth Gorges as a woman of strong character. One is a certificate bearing her signature, and the other a draft of an instruction to some servant. As both relate to Chelsea, I subjoin them in full.

Whereas I am intreated by M^r Day late Curate of Chelsey to certify y^e matter of his carriage concerning y^e long & tedious suite betweene S^r John Davers & me, theise be certify upon my honour y^t he ever pswaded me to yeeld wth out suite, & used such pawasive arguents y^t I grew angry wth him so strongly was I & still am pswaded of y^e iustnes of my cause & concerning y^e speech he used to S^t Johns man on his death bedd,

I ptest y^t he never acquainted me wth it untile he had done y^e act & then he humbly intreated me to have a good opinion of him, for he said he was thorowly pswaded he was an honest man and used reasons to pswade me & likewise I affirme y^t we all had him in iealousy y^t he had strained his conscience in swearing against me, not only I & my daughter Lane, but also divers others wch were present when he swore, & my daughter Lane acquainted y^e Lady Davers wth y^e reasons w^{ch} caused y^e suspition

E. GORGES.

Goe to S^r John Davers and desire him from me that his workmen the meaner sort of them may be examined and prove to him where they were about twelve and one of the clock on Tuesday night, and who it was that brought a great poule out of his ground w^{ch} my servant found layd over my wall [of my garden] to come in to my house to robe me, the sam partys is to be suspected to have stoln away a dogg some two days, before w^{ch} I had bred up in the house that my people sayd was worth twenty shillings with an intention to robe me this night, w^{ch} they had done if it had not bin for a Curtaine w^{ch} was drawne at my sonns beeds feet who was surely gon to beed and was awakened with the drawing of it with a hooke they had, and raised my lord of Lincoln and all my famely, and were herd runn away through my back yard and leaft the pole behind them in the common feeld upon the wale of my garden, and on of my maids did here the latch of my coach house door lifted up when they ran away, but w^{ch} way they went over the wale I know not. Beside I desire that a poor wench who hath served Mr. Fowler and hath weded two or three days in my garden may be examined, how she durst lye in my coach within my wales except she knew of this intend robbery. I my self being sicke desire hee will aforde me his best help to find out thes rogues who will not leave these it is to be doubted, but will wrong both me and my neighbours.

Neither paper is dated, but the former must be later than 1619, when Sir Robert Lane married Dudley Gorges, and the latter seems to have been written after Sir Arthur's death (1625).

Of Sir Arthur Gorges the younger I have nothing to record except his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Chauncey, of Edgcote in Northamptonshire. An indenture by which his father and mother covenant to levy a fine on certain portions of the Chelsea estate in consideration of this intended marriage, and of £1000, is dated 10 June 1624 (Claus. 22 Jac. pt. 37). He was buried at Chelsea without any monument, on 22 August 1661; his wife on 24 August 1660.

The children of the marriage were as follows :

Arthur.—Son and heir.

Sarah.—Baptized at Chelsea, 23 January 1626–7.

Carew (a daughter).—Married to John Crewe of Crewe in Cheshire.

Charles.—Baptized at Richmond 12 September 1632.

Elizabeth.—Baptized at Richmond 17 September 1633.

Ferdinando.—Baptized at St. Giles' Cripplegate 7 March 1638–9.

The Chelsea Registers record the burial of "Robert Gorge," 17 September 1638, who was perhaps another son of the younger Sir Arthur Gorges. Also the burial of "Elizabeth Gargee" 7 July 1667.

"A handsome Table Monument, with arms and carving," which formerly stood in front of Lady Dacre's tomb in the south aisle, "was taken down," says Faulkner, "in the year 1815 to make room for pews." The slab of black touchstone, which formed the top of this monument, now lies in the floor of the aisle, not far from its original position : and two slabs of polished black marble, which formed part of the sides, are now affixed to the north wall of the More Chapel, below the brasses of Sir Arthur Gorges.

One of these smaller slabs bears this inscription :

"Here lyes interred the body of that Generous
and worthy Gen^t Arthur Gorges Esq eldest
sone of S^r Arthur Gorges Kn^t the last survi
ving branch of the first male-line of that Hon^{ble}
Family, who departed this life the 8th of Aprill
1668

He maryed Dame Mary one of the dau
ghters and coheires of Paul Lord Viscount
Banning she first maryed to William Lord
Grandison, afterward to Charles Earle of
Anglesey and thirdly to the said deseced
Arthur Gorges whom she survived
And departed this life
and is here buried with her loving husband
to whos & her one memorey she erected this tombe"

The other slab is thus inscribed ;

“ Here sleepes and feeles noe pressure of ye stone
 he, that had all the Gorges Soules in One
 Here the ingenious valiant Arthur lies
 To be bewail'd by Marble and Our eyes
 By most belov'd, but Love cannot retriue
 dead frinds, Has pow'r to Kill not make alive.
 Let him rest free from envy, as from paine,
 when all the Gorges rise heel rise againe
 This last retireing rome his owne doth call
 who after death has that, and Heav'n has all.
 Live Arthur by the spirit of thy fame
 Chelsey it self must dy before thy Name.

The larger slab, which lies in the floor of the aisle, is carved with the arms, helmet, and crest of the deceased : Quarterly I. and VI. ; Gorges ; II. Gorges (ancient) ; III. Russell ; IV. Gules a lion rampant ermine, for Oldhall ; V. Argent a chevron sable between three caters on the dice, for Engloes.

Of this Arthur Gorges, the third of the name, Bowack writes that “ This worthy gentleman was very conversant with the late Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Rochester, and the celebrated wits of that time. He translated several parts of Lucan, and a volume of his poetry is now extant, very much esteemed by the learned world.”

Concerning the translation of Lucan, Bowack was, of course, mistaken. Nor have I been able to discover Gorges' name in connection with those of Rochester or Buckingham. Lysons says that he sold his house and the More Chapel to Thomas Pritchard, in 1664, reserving only the right of burial in the chapel. Beyond this nothing is known about him.

Before proceeding further with the history of Gorges' house, I will first notice the monument of Sir Robert Stanley (who married the daughter of Sir Arthur and Lady Elizabeth Gorges), which occupies



MONUMENT OF SIR ROBERT STANLEY

the east end of the More Chapel. It is a superb composition, being, with the exception only of the Dacre and Cheyne monuments, the finest in this Church.

Upon the sarcophagus, which is of unusual height, are two figures of alabaster, representing Justice and Fortitude, standing between three urns, which are placed on square plinths or pedestals, upon the faces of which, in medallions, are busts of Sir Robert (in the centre), and his infant children Ferdinando and Henrietta.

Round the edge of the sarcophagus is this inscription :

TO THE FAIRE MEMORIE OF THE TRVELY HONORABLE
S^r ROBERT STANLEY K^t OF THE NOBLE ORDER OF
Y^e BATH AND SEACOND SONNE TO Y^e RIGHT
HO^{ble} WILLIAM EARLE OF DARBIE WHOE DECEASED
YE 3 DAY OF JANNARY AN^o DNI 1632

Upon the front of the sarcophagus are these two inscriptions :

To say a STANLEY lyes here that a lone
Were Epitaph enough noe Brass noe Stone
No glorious Tombe no Monumentall Hearse
Noe guilded Trophy or lamp labourd verse
Can dignifie this Grave or sett it forth
Like the Immortall fame of his owne Worth
Then Reader fixe not here but quitt this Roome
And flye to Abram's bossome theres his Tombe
There rests his Soule & for his other parts
They are imbalm'd & lodg'd in good men's harts
A braver monument of Stone or Lyme,
No Arte can rayse for this shall out last tyme.

TO Y^e LASTINGE MEMORIE OF TWO OF HIS CHILDREN
THAT IS TO SAY FARDINANDO STANLEY HIS SONNE &
HENRITE MARIA STANLEY HIS DAVGHTER WHOE LYE
BURYED WITH IN THIS HIS SEPVLCHER

The Eagle Death greedie of some good prey
Wth nimble Eyes found where these Infants laye

He truste them in his Tallents and conveyde
 There Soules to Heaven & here theire ashes layde
 Lett no prophane Hand then these Reliques sever
 But as they lye soe lett them rest for ever.

This last epitaph alludes, of course, to the Stanley badge, an eagle preying upon a child : and the allusion is pointed by three representations of the badge ; one painted on a large shield which is supported by one of the figures ; another showing it suspended by a gold chain round the neck of Henrietta ; the third a large and bold figure of an eagle whose nest rests on the top of the centre urn.

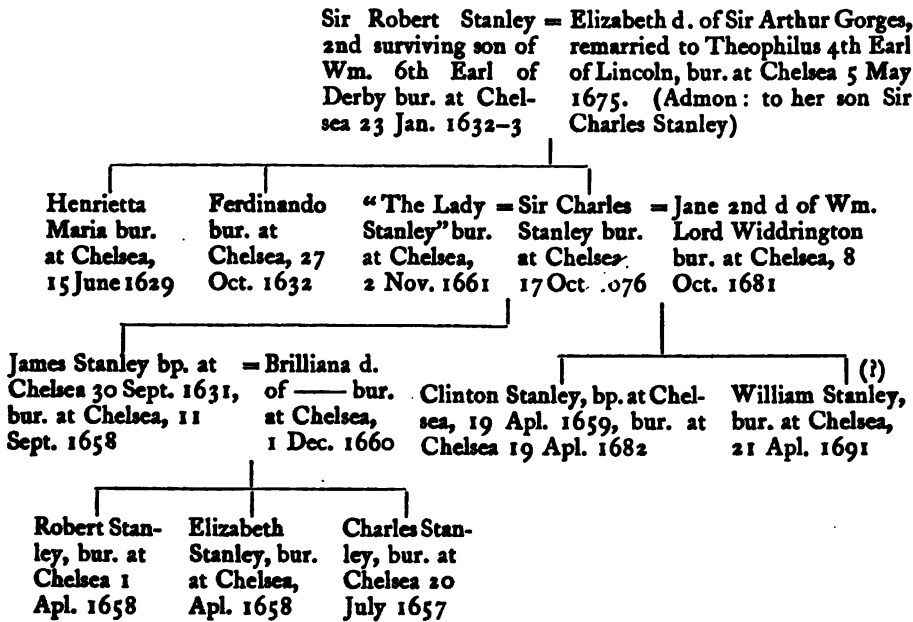
The Stanley quarterings are repeated several times. Above the bust of Sir Robert, on the face of the centre urn, is the Stanley coat, differenced with a crescent, viz., Argent on a bend azure, 3 stag's heads caboshed or. On one side of the base of the same urn are the same arms quartering : 1. Or on a chief indented azure 3 bezants (Lathom). 2. Gules 3 mens legs proper conjoined in fesse at the upper part of the thigh ; flexed in triangle garnished and spurred, or (Isle of Man). 3. Checky or & azure (Warren). 4. Gules 2 lions passant argent (Strange of Knockin). 5. Argent a fesse and canton gules (Woodville). 6. Or, a cross engrailed sable (Moyne). 7. Azure a lion rampant argent (Monhault). 8. Barry of 10 argent and gules a lion rampant or, ducally crowned gules (Brandon). 9. Azure a cross fleury or (Bruyn). 10. Lozengy gules and ermine (Rokeby).

On the other side of the same base are the same quarterings impaling Gorges. On the sides of the bases of the dexter and sinister urn are the Stanley and Gorges coats alone. One of the figures supports with one hand the shield painted with the badge, and in the other holds a coronet. The other holds a banner bearing the Stanley quarterings.

Sir Robert Stanley occupied a house called Brickhills, which was leased, and subsequently devised to Lady Stanley by her mother, Lady Elizabeth Gorges, and which stood on the site of the present Stanley Grove, the residence of the Principal of St. Mark's College. On the

death of Sir Robert's grandson William Stanley, in 1691, this branch of the family became extinct, and the house passed into other hands.

PEDIGREE OF STANLEY OF CHELSEA



In a deed entered at the Middlesex Registry (1718, Bk. 4, No. 206) I find that Gorges' house, and other property, was sold by Thomas Pritchard and others—probably in 1664 as stated by Lysons (p. 103)—to William Morgan, whose son Richard Morgan of Marlies, in Essex, sold the house, and a close adjoining, to Josias Priest.

The following advertisement appeared in the *London Gazette*, No. 1567, 25 November 1680: "Josias Priest, Dancing Master, who kept a Boarding-School of Gentlewomen in Leicester-fields, is removed to the great School-House at Chelsey, that was Mr. Portman's [? Morgan's]. There will continue the same Masters, and others, to the improvement of the said School."

It was here that the first performance of Purcell's "Dido and Æneas" was given. The libretto bore the following title, "An opera performed at Mr. Josias Priests Boarding School at Chelsey by young gentlewomen. The words made by Mr. Nahum Tate." Tom D'Urfrey wrote an epilogue, "spoken by Lady Dorothy Burk," which is printed among his "New Poems."

The following entries occur in the registers relating to the Priests :

- Bapt. 28 Mch. 16th 2. Susanna, daughter of Mr. Joseph Priest.
- " 20 May 1683. May, daughter of Mr. Joseph Priest.
- " 16 Mch. 1683-4. Ann, daughter of Mr. Joseph Priest.
- " 29 May 1686. George, son of Mr. Joseph Priest.
- " 3 Oct. 1687. Jane, daughter of Mr. Joseph Priest.
- " 9 Sept. 1688. James, son of Joseph Priest.
- " 30 June, 1693. Joseph, son of Joseph Priest.
- " 10 March, 1694-5. Frank, daughter of Thomas Priest.
- Bur. 31 Mch. 1692. Josias Priest.
- " 19 Sept. 1695. Anne Priest.
- " 30 Aug. 1703. Catherine, daughter of Thomas Priest.
- " 4 Mch. 1709-10. Catherine and Barbara, wife and daughter of Mr. Thomas Priest.
- " 11 Nov. 1719. Daniel, son of Mr. George Priest.
- " 20 Apl. 1733. Mrs. Frank Priest.
- " 20 Apl. 1734. Mr. Josiah Priest.

From the Priests the house passed to Sir William Milman, together with the More Chapel in which he was buried. In the deed above mentioned there is a reference to an earlier one, dated 17 August 1697, between Richard, grandson of William Morgan, of the first part, William Milman of the Inner Temple and Hamond Minheire of Staple Inn of the second part, and Josias Priest and his wife Frank of the third part, concerning the reservation of certain easements. So that, although the Priests were living in Chelsea until 1734, it is probable that the house was sold to Milman at or before 1697.

His monument, an ornate mural tablet, is placed between the two windows in the south wall of the More Chapel. The inscription on it is as follows :

D. O. M.

&

Memoriae

Gulielmi Milman equitis aurati

de interiori Templo Londini Jurisc^{us}

Qui obiit Chelseæ Febr 3 Anno ætatis 64

et Reparatae Salutis 1713 posuit Moestissima Conjux

E. M.

Arms. Azure 3 sinister gauntlets argent for Milman, impaling sable a chevron argent between 3 boy's heads couped with adders about their necks proper, for Vaughan.

Underneath this tablet is another, with this inscription :

Near this Place are deposited the Remains
of WILLIAM HART, Esq^r. of STAPLETON,
in the County of Gloucester

Father in Law to Sir FRANCIS MILMAN Bart.
who departed this Life 13th January 1785 aged 85 years.

Also the Remains of GEORGE HART Esq^r.
who died 19th September 1791 aged 86 years.

Also the Remains of JOHN DYER MILMAN
who died 6th December 1786 aged 2 years and 10 months :

and FRANCES SOPHIA MILMAN
died 11th Dec^r. 1786 aged 11 months
and CHARLES DYER MILMAN died 25th August 1790
aged seven months.

All three Children of Sir FRANCIS MILMAN Bart.
and Lady MILMAN

Daughter of the above named WILLIAM HART Esq^r.

Sir Francis Milman was the famous physician. He was the grandfather of Robert and Henry Hart Milman. He was buried in the More Chapel in 1821. He was the grandson of Francis Milman, who was Vicar of Paignton from 1692 till his death in 1719, and who is described in the books of Exeter College, Oxford, as the son of Thomas Milman, of South Brent in Devonshire, "pauper." What

connection existed between this family and Sir William, and how the chapel came into the possession of Sir Francis, I have not been able to discover.

In Le Neve's "Pedigrees of the Knights" are the following notes of Sir William, which may be taken for what they are worth :

"William Millman Esq. of the Inner Temple, barrister at law and of Ormond Street by red lyon square knighted at St. James 22nd of February 1705 (6) being introduced by the Duke of Devon. No gentleman. this account I had from . . . Mynheer of Staple Inn Attorney who was his old acquaintance and fellow clerk with him.

". . . Milman of . . . married . . . Milman a shoemaker over against the new exchange in the Strand where he failed and after kept a coffee house. [He married and had issue]—

"1. St. William Milman Attorney at lawe was of Staple Inne as I was told and haveing got a little money entred into the trade of Stock jobbing and lived to increase his estate to 20000 li dyed 3^d day of February 1713-14 aged 64 buried at Chelsea 7 Febr. a worthless p'son by the general caracter of him. *Canis pessimi ne catulum esse relinquendum.*

"2. John Milman of . . . lived a poor man to whom his brother would not exhibite [he married] daur of . . . [and has issue] 4 daurs heirs at lawe.

[Sir William married]

"1st. Elizabeth daur of Coll Silvanus Taylor of . . . by whom 2 children who dyed young.

"2nd. . . . daur of . . . Master of Arts and minister of Bride-well . . . no child.

"3rd. Elizabeth daur of . . . Vaughan of . . . in Wales. No child. She outlived him and was his executrix."

The following are the principal contents of Sir William's will, which was dated 26 July 1706, and proved 9 February 1713-14 (P.C.C. 86 Aston) :

To my mother Mary Milman the house where she now dwells

for the remainder of my term, or if she die before to my niece Elizabeth, wife of Robert Palmer. To my wife Elizabeth an annuity of £600 and the house I now live in in Ormond Street for so long of my term as she lives. To my niece Diana Milman the wrought bed and all things used therewith which was the work of my first wife.

A bequest to Ann Masters, daughter of Lætitia my late wife. Mention of her sister Lætitia married to Mr. Walford.

A devise of his freeholds to his four nieces, Elizabeth Palmer, and Diana, Robella, and Mary Milman, and their issue, with a special condition that any of their male issue should assume the surname of Milman. In default of such issue, or on neglect of this condition, remainder to trustees for sale and division amongst the children and grandchildren then living "of my uncle Richard Milman, and other the child or children of my uncle Robert Palmer and the children of my aunts Williamson and Briggs respectively."

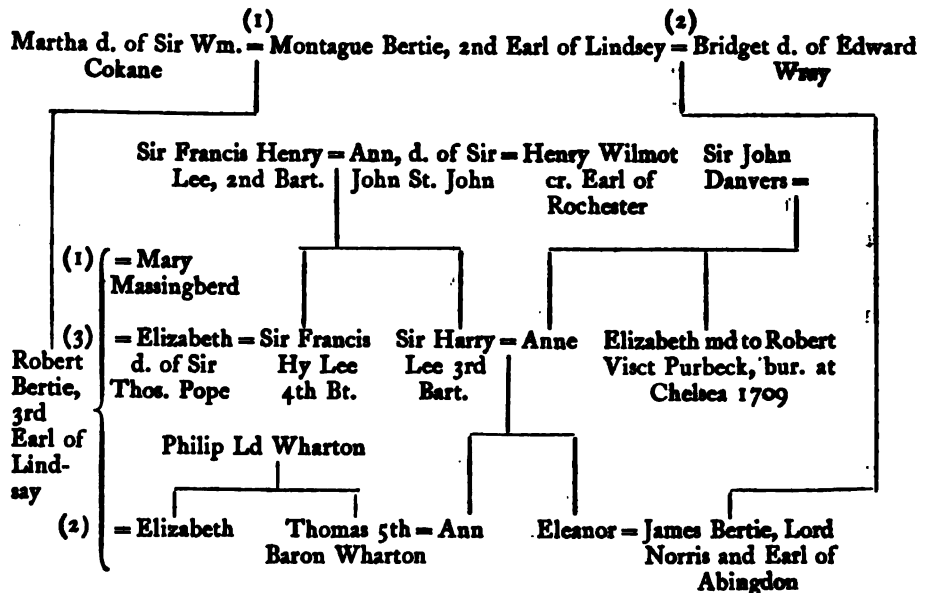
Power to lease for building for terms of 61 years.

In the Middlesex Registry are memorials of numerous deeds relating to the leasing of the land occupied by Gorges House for building "a new row of buildings intended to be called Milman's Row," in the year 1726. The lessors are William Buckle of Cheltenham Esq. and his wife Diana; Charles Mount of Cheltenham, Gent. and his wife Robella; John Langford of St. Andrew's Holborn and his wife Mary, and Pilkington Robinson of St. Martins-in-the-Fields, Gent., and his wife Elizabeth; whom we need have no hesitation in concluding were Sir William's four nieces and their husbands. Had these ladies died without issue, there would be less difficulty in supposing that the estate went over through a distant branch of the family to Sir Francis. But in Foster's "*Alumni Oxonienses*" I find the name of Charles Milman Mount, son of Thomas Mount of Cirencester, who matriculated in 1800, whose son, the Rev. Charles Bridges Mount, is still living.

CHAPTER VIII

DANVERS HOUSE

SKETCH PEDIGREE OF BERTIE, WHARTON, LEE, & DANVERS OF CHELSEA



"THE house of Sir John Danvers at Chelsey," says Aubrey, "stands in the very place where was the house of Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England. He had but one marble chimney-piece, and that plain, but indeed very good if it be not Touch: which remains there still in the chamber that was his lordship's and afterwards Sir John's (with some alterations) . . . there are two elegant pyramids of brick

covered with finishing mortar, but pointed with free stone, about twenty-four foot high, which stand at the pikes of the gate. Where this gate now stands was in Sir Thomas More's House, a gate house after the old fashion, from the top whereof was a most lovely prospect as is to be seen . . ."

This statement, which occurs amongst Aubrey's manuscript notes for the Natural History of Wilts, preserved in the Bodleian, appears at first sight to contradict the evidence quoted above as to Beaufort House: and as Aubrey was a personal friend of Danvers' daughter, Lady Purbeck, his evidence cannot be lightly dismissed. But if, instead of "*the* house" we read "*a* house" in the opening sentence, and call to mind More's gift to Roper and his wife mentioned on p. 105, *supra*, of property which may fairly be identified with "the house and one pightell or close of land," mentioned in the grant to Pawlet, the difficulty is perhaps explained. Nor is there any evidence to contradict the further suggestion, for which I am indebted to Mr. Horne, that the premises in question were no other than the "place called the new buyldinge wherein was a Chappell, a Library, and a Gallerie," which Roper tells us More built, "a good distance from his mansion house."

These suggestions are corroborated by a letter written by Thomas 3rd Earl of Lincoln, in June 1618, asking for some papers "belonging unto a certain portion of land in Chelsea called the Moorhouse, purchased by my lord my father from one Mr. Roper, which I have sold to Sir John Danvers" (S. P. Dom.). The particulars of this sale are recorded in the Close Roll 21 Jac. p. 26. The conveyance is dated 28 January, 20 Jac. (1622-3), and made between Theophilus [4th Earl] son and heir of Thomas late Earl of Lincoln, and Sir John Danvers, "as well in part performance of the true intent and meaning of certain covenants and agreements on the part and behalf of the said Thomas contained in one pair of Indentures dated 5 Dec: 15 Jac." between the said Thomas and Sir John Danvers, and in consideration of 5 shillings. The parcels are described as "all that capital messuage or dwelling house commonly called or known by the name of the Moorehouse in Chelsea and all that close of meadow or

pasture or garden thereunto adjoining containing by estimation two acres be it more or less now in the tenure or occupation of the said Sir John Danvers and all other lands tenements and hereditaments with the appurtenances in Chelsea in whose soever tenure possession or occupation the same now are which at any time heretofore were belonging unto the said Moorehouse and were not any part of the said lands tenements or hereditaments whereof Sir Robert Cecil, Knight, afterwards Earl of Salisbury since deceased was sometimes seized of some estate or inheritance and all edifices [&c.] excepting and always reserving out of these presents one garden or garden plot now or late in the tenure or occupation of Richard Masters."

There is a further difficulty, however, about Danvers' property, namely, that as late as seven years after his purchase from Lincoln he appears to have been living in a house belonging to a Mr. Shugburgh (see p. 29, *supra*), while in a list quoted by Faulkner from records now lost, Shugburgh is mentioned as having right of common for "two houses, one called the Dog, the other Sir John Danvers," in 1647. The date is untrustworthy, but taken with the other evidence, of which Faulkner had no knowledge, the statement cannot be overlooked. So far as I can gather, Shugburgh's property must have been a portion, or the whole, of the small block of buildings shown on Cecil's plan lying to the east of the wall of the orchard, and fronting on the street by the waterside: for it is certain that this block belonged to Danvers' heirs, and included a house called "The Goat," at a later date, in respect of which, and not Danvers House, they had right of common. The Dog, and several small houses in Waterman's Court and Church Street, which also belonged to Shugburgh, were not acquired by Danvers (Middlesex Registry 1718, Bk. 6, No. 223).

In Stone's diary, as quoted in "Walpole's Anecdotes," is the following entry for the year 1622:

"Unto Sir John Daves at Chelsey I made two statues of an old man and a woman and a diall, for which I had 7*l.* a piece."

This serves to show that a considerable time was taken over improving the house and garden, of which Aubrey writes as follows:

"The house is very elegant and ingeniose but not according to that

staid perfection of Roman architecture now in vogue ; but it is easier to find a fault than to mend it. As you sit at dinner in the Hall you are entertained with two delightful Vistos : one southward over the Thames and to Surrey, the other northward into that curious garden. Above the Hall is a stately Roome of the same dimension which hath the same prospect wherein is an excellent organ of stoppes of cedar. S^r John was a great lover of Musick and especially of J. Coparario's Fansies ; which were for a sagbot a violin and an organ, equivalent to five parts. These were performed by Christopher Gibbons his organist (since Doctor) . . . that was sagbuteer (and his Butler) to King Charles I. : and Humphrey Madge (his valet de chambre) Violinist. The House is vaulted all underneath which meliorates the sound of the musique, and these Musitians having played their fansies so often, and being regulated by Kit Gibbons, they made the best Harmony that ever I heard. S^r John Danvers had once a month the King's Musick come to him at Chelsey (sc. before the Civil wars).

" You did not enter directly out of the Hall into the Garden : there was a low semi-circular wall to hinder the immediate pleasure. But first you turned on the right or left hand down a paire of ten stepps which landed you in a kind of Boscage of lilacs (wildernesse), syringas, &c. (sweet brier, &c. holly and juniper), and about 4 or 5 apple trees and pear trees. In the west end of this Boscage was the figure of the gardiner's wife in free stone coloured ; at the east the like of the gardener, both accoutred according to their callings. The east and west ends of this little boscage (darke shadie) delivered you into the stately great gravelled walks of the Garden, east and west, where you were entertained with two most stately pieces of sculpture of free stone . . . which Signor Vario does much admire, and hath come severall times to see it and admire the passion of it . . . he said there was not such another piece of workmanship in England. On the South end of the East Walk is the sculpture of Cain and Abel, which also is an excellent piece, both the workmanship of Mr. Stone who was master mason to King James . . . "

" The long gravelled walks are margented with hyssop, next with several sorts of thyme. S^r John was wont on fine mornings in the

summer to brush his beaver hat on the hyssop and thyme, which did perfume it with its natural essence and would last a morning or longer.

"At the four corners of the garden sc. about the ovall are four low Pavilions of Brick leaded flatt are some firre trees and Pine trees Shumacks and the quarters all filled with some rare plant or other. On the east side of the Hall is a neat little Chapell or Oratorie finely painted : next to it a Drawing room whose floor is chequered like a chesse board of Box and Ewgh panels of about six inches square. At the east and west end of the House (without) are two high fastigiated turrets the Fans whereof are the Crest of Danvers sc. a golden Wyvern volant. The fan turns a spindle which hath a carved wheele that turns the Index (or Sagitta) externally at the four severall sides to point yt point of ye Compass the wind blows.

"I believe I may modestly affirme that there is now 1691 ten times as much gardning about London as there was in Ao 1660, and we have been since that time much improved in foreign plants, especially since about 1683."

Accompanying these notes is "a draught of Sir John Danvers' Garden at Chelsey now in the possession of the Honble. W. Wharton by the match with a daughter and coheire of Anne second daughter of Sir John." The length of the garden is given as eight chains nine yards, and the breadth four chains and nine yards.

The first entry in the registers relating to Danvers' house is that of the burial of Sir John's first wife, Magdalen, daughter of Sir Richard Newport, of High Arkall, in Shropshire, and widow of Sir Richard Herbert, of Blackhall, Montgomeryshire, by whom she was mother of several children, amongst them being Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and George Herbert, author of "The Temple." She was buried in the Church on 9 June 1627. There is no monument to her at Chelsea, but she is commemorated in a more lasting manner by two of her friends, Isaak Walton and John Donne.

From Walton's "Life of George Herbert," it appears that she married Danvers in 1612. Before this, whilst educating her sons at Oxford, "her great and harmless wit," says Walton, "her cheerful

gravity, and her obliging behaviour gained her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning that were at that time in or near that University ; and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place in this time of her being there," who "writ and left there, in verse, a character of the beauties of her body and mind." This was the Elegy, No. IX., beginning :

" No spring, nor summer's beauty hath such grace,
As I have seen in one autumnal face."

" There might be more demonstrations," Walton concludes, "of the friendship and many sacred endearments betwixt these two excellent persons (for I have many of their letters in my hand), and much more might be said of her great prudence and piety : but my design was not to write hers but the life of her son : and therefore I shall only tell my reader, that . . . I saw and heard this Mr. John Donne (who was then Dean of St. Pauls) weep, and preach her funeral sermon in the Parish Church of Chelsea, near London ; where she now rests in her quiet grave."

Strictly speaking, it was not a funeral sermon that Dr. Donne preached. It is styled "A sermon of Commemoration," and was not delivered until three weeks after the funeral, namely on July 1. "Our second word," says the preacher, alluding to his text, 2 Peter iii. 13, "denotes the person ; we, nevertheless we ; and here in this consideration, nevertheless she. This may seem to promise some picture, some character, of her person ; but she was no stranger to them that hear me now, nor scarce to any that may hear of this hereafter which you hear now, and therefore much needs not to that purpose. Yet, to that purpose, of her person, and personal circumstances, thus much I may remember some and inform others, that from that worthy family whence she had her original extraction and birth, she sucked that love of hospitality (hospitality which hath celebrated that family in many generations successively) which dwelt in her to her end. But in that ground, her father's family, she grew not many years : transplanted young from thence by marriage into another

family of honour, as a flower that doubles and multiplies by transplantation, she multiplied into ten children, Job's number, and Job's distribution (as she herself would very often remember), seven sons and three daughters : and in this ground she grew not many years more than were necessary for the producing of so many plants. And being then left to choose her own ground in her widowhood, having at home established and increased the estate, with a fair and noble addition, proposing to herself, as her principal care, the education of her children. To advance that she came with them, and dwelt with them in the University, and recompensed to them the loss of a father, in giving them two mothers, her own personal care, and the advantage of that place ; where she contracted a friendship with divers reverend persons of eminency and estimation there, which continued to their ends. And as this was her greatest business, so she made this state a large period, for in this state of widowhood she continued twelve years : and then, returning to a second marriage that second marriage turns us to the consideration of another personal circumstance, that is, the natural endowments of her person, which were such, as that though her virtues were his principal object, yet even these, her personal and natural endowments, had their part in drawing and fixing the affections of such a person, as by his birth, and youth, and interest in great favours in court, and legal proximity to great possessions in the world, might justly have promised him acceptance in what family soever, or upon what person soever, he had directed and placed his affections. He placed them here, neither diverted then nor repented since ; for as the well tuning of an instrument makes higher and lower strings of one sound, so the inequality of their years was thus reduced to an evenness, that she had a cheerfulness agreeable to his youth, and he a sober staidness conformable to her more years. So that I would not consider her at so much more than forty, nor him at so much less than thirty, at that time ; but as their persons were made one, and their fortunes made one, by marriage, so I would put their years into one number, and, finding a sixty between them, think them thirty apiece, for as twins of one hour they lived. . . .

“ To this consideration of her person then belongs this, that God

gave her such a comeliness as, though she were not proud of it, yet she was so content with it, as not to go about to mend it by any art. And for her attire (which is another personal circumstance), it was never sumptuous, never sordid, but always agreeable to her quality and agreeable to her company ; such as she might, and such as others, such as she was, did wear. For in such things of indifferency in themselves, many times, a singularity may be a little worse than a fellowship in that which is not altogether so good : it may be worse, nay, it may be a worse pride, to wear worse things than others do. Her rule was mediocrity. . . . She came to this place, God's house of prayer, duly, not only every Sabbath, when it is the house of other exercises as well as of prayer, but even in those week days when it was only a house of prayer, as often as these doors were opened for a holy convocation ; and as she ever hastened her family and her company hither with that cheerful provocation, ' For God's sake let's go, for God's sake let's be there at the Confession.' ”

The next year, after the death of his first wife, Danvers married Elizabeth, daughter of Ambrose Dauntsey of Lavington, Wilts, by whom he had the following children :

Elizabeth, baptized at Chelsea 1 May 1629.

Mary, baptized 29 September 1631, and buried 25 June 1638, at Chelsea.

Charles, baptized 4 Feb. 1632-3, and buried three days later, at Chelsea.

Henry, baptized at Chelsea 5 Dec. 1633, died 1654.

Anne, of whose baptism I have not found the record. She and her sister Elizabeth alone survived their father.

On 6 January 1648-9,* Sir John married, at Chelsea, Mrs. Grace Hewes. He died at Chelsea in April 1655, and was buried at Dauntsey.†

* This entry is alone on a blank page. The year, 1648, has been added in a different hand.

† I have in my possession a small octavo printed in 1655, and entitled "Life out of Death, a Sermon preached at Chelsey on the recovery of an honourable person, by Thomas Fuller, B.D." This probably refers to one of the Danvers family.

His Chelsea estate appears to have been settled on his two daughters, Elizabeth and Ann. The former had married Robert, the natural son of Frances, daughter of Sir Edward Coke, wife of Sir John Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham's brother, who was created Viscount Purbeck in 1619, but afterwards surrendered his title. She was buried at Chelsea as "Viscountess Purbeck" on 22 August 1709.

Anne, the younger daughter, on June 4, following her father's death, was married to Sir Henry Lee in the chapel at Ditchley. Two daughters were the issue of this marriage; namely, Ellenora and Anne, baptized at Ditchley on 3 June 1658, and 24 July 1659, respectively. Another entry in the Wooton Register states that "Sir Henry Lee was buried at Spelsbury 21st March 1659, and his lady also about four months after," so that the two infant heiresses, Ellenora and Anne Lee, were now the owners of the Chelsea property, their guardian being Sir Ralph Verney of Middle Claydon. "I doubt I shall bee too soone at London for poore Harry Lee haveing made me (with his uncle S^r Walter St. John and Mr. Cary) a trustee for his whole estate. I feare that business will oblige me to be there both sooner and longer then I intended and if his lady bring a sonne the trust may proove both long and troublesome, and till about August wee are not like to bee satisfied in this point." This was written by Sir Ralph on April 4, 1659; and on August 4 Dr. Denton writes to him, "I received a sad token of your mournings from my Lady Rochester for Lady Lee. I see youth and great estates are no (?) safeguards from grim death." (Verney MSS.)

"Sir Ralph's hereditary friendship with the Lees of Ditchley," writes Lady Verney in her recent edition of the family papers, "involved him in a good deal of correspondence. He had known five Sir Henry Lees, and had been their trustee, guardian, executor, friend, adviser and referee, and to their widows after them, their children and grandchildren. He was now [c. 1679] busy winding up his guardianship of the two charming Lee heiresses, who were nearly of age, Anne, Mrs. Tom Wharton, and Eleanor Lady Norris, afterwards Countess of Abingdon. They had been almost like Sir Ralph's daughters, as their husbands gratefully recognised."

One of Sir Ralph's first acts of guardianship was to let the house. On 12 April 1660, Yates, the family lawyer, writes to him : "Yesterday I had possession delivered by my La : Danvers of Chelsey House for my Lady Lee's children, and I observed there are many papers left behind as well as writings that concern the estate of the children, and I will take some time to romage them" Sir Ralph replies to this : "In case you could heare of a good tenant for Chelsey house it would be a good advantage for 'twill grow worse and worse if it be not inhabited, and yield us nothing but a constant charge and trouble. Therefore if you thinke fitt we will not bee too high in our demands for if it lye one yeare upon our hands we shall loose more by it than any moderate abatement can be to us" (Verney MSS.)

No time was lost, a tenant being found in John, Lord Robartes, afterwards Earl of Radnor, who entertained the King there as early as 4 September 1660, and remained in possession till his death in 1685. It has hitherto been supposed that Lord Radnor's house was that which stood at the south-east corner of Flood Street, but it will be seen from a conveyance, which I shall presently quote, that this was not so. That house is marked on Dr. King's survey as "Lady Radnor's," being occupied, no doubt, in Dr. King's time, by the second Lady Radnor, who had been re-married to Lord Cheyne, and was devisee of a life estate in all his Chelsea property that was not already settled on his son. Amongst the numerous entries in the register relating to the Robartes family, there are several which are of later date than that of Lord Radnor's death, when Danvers House, as we shall see, was again occupied by its owners.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Robartes was on the Parliamentary side ; and, according to Clarendon, was with Lord Essex at Edgehill ; but within a few months of the Restoration, as above mentioned, he "gave a noble entertainment to his Majesty at his house at Chelsea." (Mercurius Politicus, quoted by Lysons.) In the year following Pepys records his impressions of the house :

"Then we took coach . . . to Chelsey, to my Lord Privy Seale. . . . Here I saw by daylight two very fine pictures in the gallery, that a little while ago I saw by night ; and did also go all over the house

and found it to be the prettiest contrived house that I ever saw in my life." And again, in 1665: "Up by five o'clock and by water to Whitehall, and there took coach and with Mr. Moore to Chelsey. . . . I passed my time in contemplating (before I was called in) the picture of my Lord's son's lady, a most beautiful woman, and most like to Mrs. Butler." This was Sarah, wife of Radnor's eldest son Robert, styled Viscount Bodmin, who predeceased his father. In the register of her burial she is styled "Countess Dowager of Radnor."

It was here, when the King was visiting, in July 1673, that the Duke of Monmouth gave "a very sumptuous treat" to the Duchess of Portsmouth. "On Tuesday last his Grace the Duke of Monmouth invited his Majesty to a very noble entertainment at my Lord Roberts at Chelsey, where all the gallants were pleased to be present. The entertainment was intended to be in the Bowling Green, which was enlightened by lamps in an extraordinary manner, but it being too cold for the ladies, his Majesty supped within the house, so that all that preparation was to little purpose." (Henry Ball to Sir Joseph Williamson, 31 July 1673).

Not the least of the attractions at these festivities was Lactitia, the Earl's second wife, who survived him, and married Lord Cheyne. "My Lady Roberts," writes Anthony Hamilton, "shone in those days; her beauty dazzled at first sight, yet notwithstanding the brightness of the finest complexion, attended with the bloom of youth, notwithstanding all that generally kindles desire, she had nothing moving or enticing. However, the Duke of York would gladly have taken up with her, had not unsurmountable difficulties disappointed his good intentions towards her. My Lord Roberts, her husband, was an old dog, snarling and peevish, and yet fond to a degree to make her mad: and to complete her misery a perpetual resident near her person." This is Abel Boyer's translation (though by no means all of it), published, when he was living in Chelsea, in the same year that the Countess died there: but whether before or after, I am unable to say.

The following entries in the Parish Register refer to the Robartes family:

BAPTIZED.

1661. June 16. Mary daughter of the Rt. Hon. John Lord Robarts Lord Privy Seal.

1662. Oct. 14. John son of the Rt. Hon. John Lord Robarts.

1667. Apl. 27. Warwick son of the Rt. Hon. John Lord Robarts.

1669. Apl. 7. Essex Robarts d. of the Rt. Hon. John Lord Robarts.

1660. Aug. 12. Charles Bodvile Robarts son of Robert Robarts Esq.

1661. Sept. 5. Isabella daughter of Robert Robarts Esq.

1662-3. Mch. 3. Sarah daughter of Robert Robarts.

1664. Mch. 27. Robert Robarts son of Robert Robarts Esq.

1666. Sept. 16. Richard Robarts son of Robert Robarts Esq.

1669. Nov. 14. George son of Robert Robarts Esq.

BURIED.

1663. Nov. 17. John son of John Lord Robarts.

1664-5. Feb. 13. Robert Robarts son of Robert Robarts Esq.

1670. Sept. 23. George son of Robert Robarts Esq.

1674. Sept. 1. Mr. John Roberts son of Robert Robarts Esq.

1674-5. Feb. 5. Garrard son of Robert Robarts Esq.

1677. Apl. 28. Anna Maria daughter of Robert Robarts Esq.

1679. May 25. Sarah daughter of Robert Robarts Esq.

1680-1. Mch. 25. Mr. Warwick Robarts son of the Rt. Hon. John Lord Robarts.

1683. July 18. Richard Roberts Esq.

1696. Aug. 1. Mrs. Elizabeth Robartes d^r of the Hon. Francis Robarts.

1700. Sept. 22. The Rt. Hon. Lady Catherine Robarts.

1707. Dec. 13. George son of the Hon^{ble} Russell Robarts Esq.

*1710. June 1. Mrs. Elizabeth Roberts daughter of the Hon^{ble} Russell Roberts Esq.

1711. Aug. 2. Robert son of the Hon^{ble} Russell Roberts.

1714. July 15. Lætitia Countess Dowager of Radnor Senior midd. vault.

1717-8. Feb. 7. Hon. Russell Roberts Esq. mid. vault.

1720. Sept. 20. Rt. Hon. Sarah Countess Dowager of Radnor.

1728. Apl. 24. Mrs. Mary Roberts wife of Francis Roberts Esq.

1732-3. Feb. 24. Lady Olympia Roberts.

1746. Sept. 22. Hon. John Roberts Esq.

Meanwhile, Sir John Danvers' granddaughters, whom we left as infants in 1659, had grown up and were married; the elder, Eleanora, to James, son of Montague 2nd Earl of Lindsey, by his second wife Bridget, through whom he inherited the Barony of Norris of Rycote.† The younger, Anne, to Thomas, son and heir of Philip Lord Wharton, who appears to have been resident at Chelsea soon after Lord Radnor's death.

Lady Wharton's marriage was childless and unhappy. Her poetical remains, indeed, indicate a very different character from that of her husband, and there could have been but little sympathy between the authors of "The Lamentations of Jeremiah Paraphrased," and of "Lilliburlero."

The following lines by Edmund Waller are not so well known as to require an apology for their appearance in this place :

ON AN ELEGY MADE BY MRS. WHARTON ON THE
EARL OF ROCHESTER

Thus mourn the Muses ! On the hearse
Not strewing tears, but lasting verse :

* I have a copy of "A Sermon preached at Chelsea by Thomas Knaggs, Chaplain to Lord Brooke, on the 1st day of June 1710 at the Funeral of the Honourable Mrs. Elizabeth Roberts, who departed this life the 27th May in the fifteenth year of her age."

† G. E. C.'s "Complete Peerage." In the current volume of *Archæologia* (58 pt. 1, p. 167) it is stated that he was created Baron Norreys of Rycote, 12 May 1685.

Which so preserves the hero's name
They make him live again in fame.

Chloris, in lines so like his own,
Gives him so just, and high, renown ;
That she th' afflicted world relieves,
And shows, that still in her he lives.
Her wit as graceful, great, and good :
Allied in genius, as in blood.

His loss supplied, now all our fears
Are, that the nymph should melt in tears.
Then, fairest Chloris, comfort take,
For his, your own, and for our sake ;
Lest his fair soul, that lives in you,
Should from the world for ever go.

Waller's allusion to an alliance in blood between Lady Wharton and Rochester, refers to a connection between the two families, which, perhaps, originated at Chelsea ; where Henry Wilmot, 1st Earl of Rochester, and Frances, daughter of Sir George Morton, of Clenson in Dorsetshire, were married on 21 August 1633—probably from Sir John Danvers' house. Subsequently Lord Rochester married Anne, daughter of Sir John St. John, who was the mother of the famous Lord Rochester. She was re-married to Sir Henry Lee, 2nd Baronet, of Ditchley, and so was grandmother to Lady Wharton.

Wharton's career is too well known to require any notice here, and all that I have to record of him in Chelsea is of local, rather than personal interest, being a farewell view of Danvers' house, which was demolished in 1696 ; and a brief survey of the lands enjoyed with it, which were sold by Wharton's nephew, Montague, Earl of Abingdon, to William Sloane, in the year 1717.

From various deeds entered at the Middlesex Registry between 1709 and 1717, I find that most of the ground had been leased to Benjamin Stallwood, of St. Giles in the Fields, bricklayer, or as we should now call him, builder. On the corner house of Danvers Street, on the east side, is a stone tablet thus inscribed :

"This is Danvers Street begun in the y^e year 1696 by Benjamin Stallwood."

In Abingdon's conveyance to Sloane, which is dated 18 May 1717, the parcels are roughly as follows :

1. The ground "whereon stood the capital messuage which late was the mansion of Sir John Danvers and which was afterwards in the possession of John Earl of Radnor or his assigns with all gardens, orchards," &c.

2. Tenements now or late in the occupation of Francis Guilford and Thomas Gilbank.

3. A waste piece of ground between the horse ferry and the said tenements, 60 ft. long by 40 ft. broad.

4. Dovehouse close containing 5 acres, encompassed by a brick wall and used as a garden or orchard by Matthew Hutchins.

5. Messuages in the occupation of Matthew Hutchins.

6. "All those several pieces of ground now and for many years past called the Park, inclosed on all sides with a brick wall," containing 40 acres.

7. A piece of ground, being part of the garden of the capital messuage whereon part of the stables stood, and a slip of ground formerly the coachway from the house to the stables.

8. The pieces of ground whereon several houses are built now in the tenure of Benjamin Stallwood in Danvers Street, one of them being called the Blackboy.

The last item no doubt included "The Goat," which stood to the west of Danvers Street, fronting the way by the waterside, and adjoining the block of buildings mentioned above, as shown in Kip's View. This, it will be remembered, was Mr. Shuckburgh's house, in respect of which Sir John Danvers enjoyed the use of a pew in the Church, and his heirs the right of common. It is thus described in a conveyance from Stallwood's executors to William Sloane :

"All that piece or parcel of ground whereon a messuage or tenement called or known by the name or sign of the Goate, lately stood near the horse ferry in Great Chelsey, containing in front towards the street a highway lying between the same and

the Thames, 20 ft. and in depth, 74 ft. 3 inches. And also the messuage erected by the said Benjamin Stallwood upon part of the same ground. And also the little strip or parcel of ground adjoining the same on the east side, intended for a way from the said street into the first mentioned ground and other ground. . . ."

Another conveyance from William Sloane, the elder, to his son William (Middx. Reg., 1719, Bk. 3, No. 20), evidently refers to the same premises, namely, a messuage in the occupation of Valentine Arnold, together with right of common for three cows (*i.e.*, one cow and two heifers) belonging thereto, and "the pews or seats in the parish Church of Chelsey."

In 1683, the Jurors at a Court Leet and Court Baron presented "Thomas Wharton Esq. for an incroachment on the highway by a wall next the Goat" (Faulkner). This led Faulkner to suppose that Wharton resided at the house still called "The Goat in Boots," at the north-east corner of Park Walk; and, further, to describe him as owner of right of common for "a house called the Goat at Little Chelsea," with an air of authority that has misled more modern writers. It is true that this house stands on the corner of what was called "Lord Wharton's Park," but no houses were built there, as may be seen from Kip's View, in 1683; nor are any mentioned in the conveyance, above quoted, in 1717. The Park, it will be remembered, was referred to in the conveyance of Beaufort House as having been conveyed to Lord Cornbury and others in 1670, probably in trust for the Danvers estate (*see* chap. vi.). It was not all included in Gorges' sale of the great house to Cranfield, but only the western portion of it, namely, "brickbarn close containing ten acres" (Claus. 8 Jac. p. 18). The remainder Cranfield purchased from William Blake in 1620, namely, "all those closes of pasture now divided into five, ditched, and being known by the name of the Sandhills containing by estimation thirty-two acres abutting on . . . Brickbarn Close on the west" (Cadogan records quoted by Faulkner).

About the year 1725 it was leased by Sir Hans Sloane to Sir Richard Manningham, the famous accoucheur, by whom it was gradually leased out for building, as appears by various deeds entered at the Middlesex Registry. Park Chapel was probably the first

building erected upon it, and in 1721 a portion of it was planted with mulberry trees by a Company to whom a patent was granted for the manufactory of raw silk. About 1732 Christopher Le Blon set up his tapestry works at Chelsea, whose site is determined in a lease from Manningham of the house at the south-west corner of the Park (now the "Man in the Moon" Tavern), dated 3 April 1733, the premises having a frontage on to the King's Road of 86 ft., and being bounded on the east by "certain work or tapestry houses now in the possession of — Le Blon."

In another conveyance by William Sloane and his son to Sir Hans' trustees, dated 17 April 1719, besides the Danvers property, above mentioned, is included a "messuage or tenement with the appurtenances situate and being in and upon one parcell of ground garden or orchard compassed round about with a brick wall and now or late in the tenure or occupation of Moses Goodyear his undertenants or assigns at and under the yearly rent of £40." This was the house described, and pictured, in Faulkner's "Chelsea," as "Church Place," which stood on the site of Paulton Terrace adjoining Church Street. So little is known of this house that I must be content to have discovered any mention of it at all, even though it throws no light on the traditions concerning it. It is said to have been used by Essex during the Civil Wars; and the date, 1641, which Faulkner states was carved upon it, may give colour to this tradition. In Faulkner's time it was let out to various persons, being in a dilapidated condition. Henry Kingsley (whose father was rector of Chelsea) makes it the scene of several incidents in "The Hillyars and the Burtons."

CHAPTER IX

LINDSEY HOUSE

"THE Countess Dowager of Lindsey," says Bowack, "has a fair handsome house adjoining to the Duke of Beaufort's, said to be built by Sir Theodore Mayerne, Physician to Charles I. It has a good front to the Thames, built after the modern manner . . . the Countess Dowager of Plymouth and her son resides in it at present" (1705). The description of this house, in a document which I shall refer to presently, identifies it with the principal farmhouse on More's estate, described in the grant to Pawlet in 1547 as the house called "The Farm," then in the occupation of Thomas Bean, Junior; and the fact that it enjoyed right of common proves that it was the original house on the estate, before More built his "pretorium."

An item in the list of "Depts and Rereages dewe to the Church," appended to the Inventory taken in 1549, names "the executour of Thomas Beane deceased, for a chalice of sylver and gylte, brent with fyer as they sayde, vallewed at £6." It is possible, perhaps, that this was the fire recorded in More's letter to his wife, written from Woodstock in September 1529; "I am informed by my son Heron of the loss of our barns and our neighbour's also. The loss of so much corn is a pity, but we must not only be content, but be glad of God's visitation . . . so pray be of good cheer, and take all the household to Church and thank God for what he has given and for what he has taken from us."

In 1567 Pawlet leased the Farm, together with the old Parsonage, which he had just acquired by an exchange, to "Nicholas Holborne of Chelsey, Gent., and Katherin his wife" for fifty years (Faulkner,

vol. i. p. 121, from Earl Cadogan's Records). Holborne's name also appears in a rental of the manor in 1587 as the lessee of part of "the great barn with nine bays," and of "the house called the long house" near the barn, the granary converted into a stable, besides various pieces of land.

The following entries in the registers relate to the Holbornes, besides which are several of burials of poor persons from "Mr. Holborne's barn":

BURIALS.

- 12 Jan. 1562-3. Robert Holborne,
 4 Oct. 1592. Nicholas Holborne p^r familias & senex sepults in cancello.
 1 July 1594. Katherine Holborne vidua sepulta.
 6 Dec. 1618. Margaret y^e daughter of Richard Holbourne and Margaret his wife.

BAPTISMS.

- 20 May 1565. Winifred Holborne.
 6 Dec. 1566. William Holborne.
 4 Mch. 1562-3. ——— Holborne.
 23 Apl. 1564. Nicholas Holborne.
 20 Mch. 1559-60. Robert Holborne.
 1561. ? Mildred Holborne.

Holborne's lease expired in 1617; and shortly after that date, namely 1 April 1618, Sir Arthur Gorges, who had acquired More's estate, obtained leave, being the King's tenant *in capite*, to grant the house to Edward Smith, Esq., and William Neve, Gent., in trust for Sir Edward Cecil and his wife Diana for their lives and the life of their daughter Ann (Pat. 16 Jac. pt. 31, No. 57). With the exception of the letters quoted in chap. ii. above, Cecil has left no record of his residence in Chelsea. He survived his wife and his daughter, and died in November 1638.*

* See "Life and Times of General Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, by Chas. Dalton. (Sampson Low & Co., 1885.)

The tradition that Dr. Mayerne "built" Lindsey House is supported by the little evidence that is extant of its history at the time of Cecil's death. In a list of houses having right of common, quoted by Faulkner from the Presentments of Court Leet and Court Baron amongst Earl Cadogan's records, under a general date 1647, there is a farm pulled down in the "Marquis' Yard," which I suppose to be a name that survived from Pawlet's time, when the farm and the great house were in the same ownership. Again, in a Presentment of Court Baron quoted in Dr. King's MS. in 1663, Lindsey House, though not included in the list of commonable houses, is mentioned in the following footnote: "The House late Sir Theodore Mayerne's no more than 2 cows and 1 heifer: no more nor less belonging to any commonable messuage tenement or cottage; and upon pulling down the old house not claimed until the new house was built."

In another list quoted by Dr. King, dated 1674, when all the owners joined in a deed for leasing the common, there is "the Earl of Lindsey claimed and since allowed."

A servant of Mayerne's was buried at Chelsea as early as 1639, the year after Cecil's death, so it may be conjectured that he bought the house from Gorges soon after the reversion fell in, though he may not have rebuilt it till later.

By his will dated 8 March 1654-5, and proved April 20 following, Mayerne bequeathed "to the poore of Chelsey where I now dwell the sum of £50," a bequest which is not mentioned in any list of Chelsea charities. He made his daughter Adriana his sole heiress, giving only a life interest in his "household stuff" to his wife Isabella.

Another daughter, Elizabeth, wife of Peter de Caumont, Marquis de Cugnac, died at Chelsea in 1653, and was commemorated by a monument which is affixed to the south wall of the upper chancel, bearing this inscription:

D. O. M. S.

ELIZABETHAE EQVITIS THEODORI
DE MAYERNE, BARONIS ALBONAE
FILIAE, PETRI DE CAVMONT MAR-
CHIONIS DE CVGNAC (PATRE HEN-

CHELSEA OLD CHURCH

RICO DE CAVMONT MARCHIONE DE
 CASTELNAVY & AVO JACOBO NONPAR
 DE CAVMONT DVCE DE LA FORCE PRIMO
 FRANCIAE MARESCALLO REGIORUM
 EXERCITVVM LONGVM IMPERATORE
 FORTISSIMO FORTVNATISSIMO INVIC-
 TISSIMO, NATI) VXORI DVLCISSIMAE
 LECTISSIMAE CHARISSIMAE XVI^{TO}
 POST NVPTIAS MENSE ACERBO EREPTAE
 FATO, CONIVNX IN AMORIS INCONCVSSI
 & IRRVPTAE FIDEI MONIMENTVM
 MOERENS POSVIT
 OBIIT X^O IVLII MDCLIII IN PAGO CHELSEY
 IVXTA LONDINV
 VIXIT ANNOS XX MENSES VI DIES III
 RESVRGET
 SYN OEO

The monument was described by Bowack, in 1705, as "a neat square black marble stone, with the Arms of the Mareschal de la Force and Sir Theodore Mayerne's quartered together." The arms are now lost, and the monument needs repairing.

Sir Theodore was buried at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. The following entry in the Parish Register records the marriage of his daughter Adriana at Chelsea :

"1659. The Right Honourable Armond de Coumond : Lord Marquest of Monpolion and Mrs. Adriana de Miherne were married July y^e 21th."

Amongst the State Papers (Domestic, 1671, Entry Book 34, fol 81), is a warrant, dated 14 April 1671, for a grant of "the Farm House in Chelsea and the wharf there" to John Snell and Richard Newman, who derived their title through Peter Rowsan, the surviving trustee of Adriana, daughter of Sir Theodore de Mayerne, found by inquisition to be an alien.

This document shows Faulkner to have been mistaken in including the Earl of Lindsey's name in a schedule of persons having right of common in the year 1663. But his successor, Robert, third Earl, was

in possession of the house in 1671, as appears by a deed entered at the Middlesex Registry (1717, Bk. 4, No. 24), of which the following is a short abstract :

Indenture dated 25th September 1716, and made between Elizabeth Countess Dowager of Lindsey, and the Honble. Charles Bertie of Great Chelsea, her only son by Robert, late Earl of Lindsey, of the first part, the Honble. Roger North, surviving executor of Francis Lord Guilford her brother of the second part ; Elizabeth, widow of Sir Lodowick Cottrell and Edward Chute of the Vine of the third part, and Edward Smith of London, gentleman of the fourth part.

Reciting an indenture of the 26th May 1671 between Robert Earl of Lindsey and others of the one part, and William Richardson gentleman of the other part, whereby a term of 200 years was granted by them to Richardson, of and in "All that messuage or tenement with the appurtenances commonly called or known by the name of the Farm House in Chelsea aforesaid, and also all that the wharf which lieth along by the Thames and extendeth to the full breadth of the said messuage or tenement on the south side thereof, and all such commons and common of pasture in the common fields and commonable places of Chelsea aforesaid, as the owner or owners, tenant or tenants, occupier or occupiers of the said messuage, tenement, and premises, have heretofore had or used in respect of the same premises."

And Reciting an indenture dated 29th Nov. 30 Car. II. whereby the said term was assigned to Eliza Haywood, and by another indenture dated 29th April, 32 Car. II. assigned to Sir Francis and Sir Roger North.

And Reciting that £1000 only was then owing, of which £200 belonged to Sir Roger North.

It was witnessed that for consideration to be paid by Edward Smith, Sir Roger North and others assigned the premises to Edward Smith for the rest of the said term.

And that the Countess of Lindsey and Charles Bertie confirmed the same to Edward Smith until payment by Charles Bertie of £1050.

In the current volume of *Archaeologia* (58 pt. 1, p. 184), it is stated that this Charles Bertie died unmarried in 1710. His will is dated 24 July 1727 (Middlesex Registry 1750, Bk. 3, No. 490), but from the conveyance quoted below it would seem probable that he lived till nearly 1750.

A glance at the sketch pedigree on p. 136 will show that the Lindseys were intimately connected with the house of Danvers. The Countess above mentioned was Lord Lindsey's third wife, Elizabeth Pope, widow of Sir Francis Henry Lee, of Ditchley, fourth baronet.

Besides her son Charles she had a daughter Elizabeth, whose baptism is thus recorded in the Chelsea Parish Registers :

"The Lady Elizabeth Bartie, daughter to the right Honorable Earle of Lindsey, Lord Great Chamberlain of England, was Baptized this yeare being 1671, and the 23rd of the moneth of June."

Various noble personages appear to have occupied the house during the earlier part of the eighteenth century. In 1705, as Bowack says, the Countess Dowager of Plymouth resided there with her son, to whom the following entries in the Parish Register relate :

1703, Aug. 28. Thomas Lord Windsor Viscount Blackwater* in the Kingdom of Ireland and Charlotte Lady Dowager Jeffreys were married.

BAPTIZED.

1704, Dec. 2. Ursula daughter of Thomas Lord Viscount Windsor and Charlotte his Lady.

1705-6, Feb. 7. Thomas son of Lord Windsor.

1707, May 1. Herbert son of Lord Windsor.

1709, Apl. 19. Charlotte daughter of Lord Windsor.

Faulkner states that the house was afterwards occupied by Francis Lord Conway, but gives no other evidence than the entry in the Parish Register of the baptism of his son Francis (who was created Marquis of Hertford) on 2 August 1718.

In a conveyance of some of the land belonging to Gorges House (Middx. Reg. 1727, Bk. 1, No. 239), one of the abuttals is given as the house "in the possession of the Duchess of Rutland and called Bertie House." This lady was a niece of the Countess of Lindsey, being the daughter of the third Viscount Campden who had married Lady Elizabeth Bertie, daughter of Montague, second Earl of Lindsey. In 1750 the executors of Charles Bertie's will sold the house to Albemarle Bertie, second son of the Duke of Ancaster. In this conveyance it is called the house "late in the possession of the Duchess of Rutland

* This title is not mentioned in G. E. C.'s "Complete Peerage"; nor can I identify Lady Plymouth and her son in that work.

commonly called or known by the name of Lindsey House" (Middx. Reg. 1750 Bk. 2, No. 540).

"In the following year," says Faulkner, "it was purchased for the Moravian Society, who occupied it until the year 1770." For its subsequent history I must therefore refer the reader to some more general work ; only adding that it possesses the unique interest of having survived to the present day the rapacities to which every other seventeenth-century mansion in Chelsea has succumbed. And if the few facts now brought to light, which prove it to have been More's first purchase in Chelsea, and show its continuous history from the beginning of the sixteenth century onward, awaken enough interest to preserve it from the hand of the destroyer, now so active in all parts of the parish, I shall feel that my labours have been to some purpose.

CHAPTER X

THE LAWRENCES

THE history of the Lawrences in Chelsea begins with their acquisition of the old Manor House between 1557 and 1587, and ends with the burial of Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Lawrence, and wife of Crew Offley, in the year 1725; the old house having been demolished some twenty-five years before that date. So many chances have combined to obscure these facts, so many attempts made to attach an importance to the family which it never possessed, that I feel obliged to set out more details in this chapter than some of my readers may think desirable. "This bare skeleton of *Time, Place and Person*," is however, "fleshed with some pleasant passages"; and whether or not the history be all of the greatest interest, it certainly deserves to be recorded.

For my information I am largely indebted to Mr. Walter Rye's paper on "Lawrence of Iver and Chelsea," contributed to vol. iv. of the "Herald and Genealogist"; and I have to thank Mr. Lawrence of Sandywell, and, more especially, the Rev. R. Gwynne Lawrence of Middleton Hall, Llanarthney, for their kindness in lending me their assistance.

The exact date of the family settling in Chelsea is not known. The new Manor House was completed by the year 1543, but the old one remained in the possession of the Crown until 1557, in which year it was granted to John Caryll, Esq., in fee. It is thus described in the Patent, the following being a literal translation :—

"All that our capital Messuage and tenement formerly called the capital mansion or messuage of our Manor of Chelsey in the parish of

Chelsey in the County of Middlesex and two gardens one orchard one dove-cot and one close of land and pasture containing by estimation four acres situate lying and being in the parish of Chelsey aforesaid in the said county of Middlesex and now or late in the occupation of Richard Jarvoys by indenture for a term of years and parcel of the tenements and possessions of John late Duke of Northumberland attainted and convicted of high treason . . ." (Pat. 3 & 4 Ph. & M. pt. 9.)

The oldest monument in the chapel is that of Thomas Lawrence, a goldsmith, who died on 28 October 1593, and was buried in the Church on the following day. It is stated in a pedigree by Lilly in the Harleian MS., No. 1096, that he was the son of Thomas Lawrence of Chelmarsh, near Bridgnorth, in the county of Salop; where also Thomas Lawrence, his grandfather, resided.

In this monument, which is affixed to the north wall of the chapel, the deceased and his family are represented in small effigies of stone, kneeling on cushions, with clasped hands, in two shallow arched recesses between the three small columns which support the entablature in the centre and at either end of the monument. On the dexter side is the goldsmith, with three sons behind him. On the sinister side his wife, facing him, with six daughters behind her, and two small effigies in swaddling clothes upon a cushion at her side.

Between the bases upon which the columns rest is this inscription :—

THE YEARES WHEREIN I LIV'D WERE FIFTY-FOWRE
OCTOBER TWENTYE EYGHTE DID END MY LIFE.
CHILDREN FIVE OF ELEVEN, GOD LEFT IN STORE
SOLE COMFORT OF THEYR MOTHER & MY WIFE

THE WORLD CAN SAY WHAT I HAVE BEEN BEFORE
WHAT I AM NOW EXAMPLES STILL ARE RIFE
THUS THOMAS LARRANCE SPEKES TO TYMES ENSVING
THAT DEATH IS SVRE & TYME IS PAST RENVING

Above the cornice are three shields of arms. In the centre, the personal coat of the deceased: Argent, a cross raguly, gules; on a

chief, azure, three leopards heads, or. This shield is surmounted by an Esquire's helmet, and crest, a demi-turbot ; the whole achievement being contained in a circular frame, resting upon the cornice. At either end of the cornice are the arms of the Merchant Adventurers and of the Goldsmiths' Company.

On another shield, which is placed behind the middle pillar of the monument, underneath the cornice, are the arms of Lawrence, as above, impaling, Quarterly, 1 and 4, per pale, azure and gules ; over all a saltire, for Cage. 2 and 3, a swan flying, for Dale. The arms impaled are those of the goldsmith's wife, Martha, whom he married on 22 July 1572. She was the only daughter of Anthony Cage, Salter, of London, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Dale.

It is noticeable that in the engraving of this monument in Faulkner's history of Chelsea, the "chief" is omitted from the Lawrence coat. Mr. Rye suggests that this omission was made in order to support Faulkner's attempts to establish the goldsmith's descent from the Lawrences of Lancashire. This "chief" is in itself enough to dispose of any such claim ; and, indeed, in Gwillim's "Display of Heraldry" it is stated that this coat was "given by William Dethick, Garter, A.D. 1594 to — Laurence of London, goldsmith." Yet in the Visitation of Buckinghamshire made in 1634, Thomas Lawrence is actually stated to be "descended from Laurence of Lancashire."

This monument is mentioned by Mr. M. H. Bloxham in "Glimpses of Monumental Architecture." It is also alluded to by Henry Kingsley (whose father was Rector of the new Church) in "The Hillyars and the Burtons."

Of the goldsmith nothing further is recorded, relating to Chelsea, except his will, of which Mr. Rye gives the following notes :—

"In his will, which was proved at Hadleigh, Middlesex, in November 1593, Thomas Lawrence is described as a Citizen and Goldsmith of London. There are bequests to his wife Martha, to the poor of Chelsea parish, to his Executors £400 to be employed by them in "the finishing of the buildings which are in hand at Iver in the County of Bucks : " to his sister-in-law Katherine Cage, wife of Mr. John Cage, to his sister Lowton's children, to his sister Heades' children,

and to his cousin Joice Jackson. He devises his house at Chelsea to his wife; over to his son Thomas in tail; over to his son John in tail; over to his daughters Blanche, Martha and Sara."

Of Thomas, the eldest son of the goldsmith, there is nothing recorded, except that in Lilly's pedigree he is described as being of twenty years of age in the year of his father's death; but as his younger brother, Sir John, describes himself as the heir in the letter quoted above, it may be presumed that he died without issue.

Sir John Lawrence, the goldsmith's second son and heir, seems to have made Iver his principal residence. He married Grissel, daughter and co-heiress of Gervase Gibbon of Benenden in the county of Kent, by whom he had eleven children, of whom the following were baptized at Iver : *—

- 1610. 31 May. Anne.
- 1611-12. Feb. 15. John. (This entry is now perished
from damp.)
- 1614-15. Jan. 3. Robert.
- 1616. May 15. Frances.
- 1617. Oct. 15. William.
- 1619. Aug. 17. Marmaduke. (Buried August 25th,
following.)
- 1623-24. Feb. 7. Ralfe. (Buried 26th February follow-
ing.)
- 1623-24. Feb. 7. Sampson.
- 1627-28. Feb. 14. Grissell.
- 1631. Nov. 21. Henry. (Buried at Chelsea 17 Oct.,
1661.)

In 1616 he was High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, and in 1626 he was knighted. In 1628 he was created a Baronet. He died on the 12th of November 1638, and was buried at Chelsea on the fourteenth of the same month.

In the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic, 1638, vol. CCCCCI) is the following note :

* I am indebted to Mrs. Hebert for the verification of these entries.

"1638. 12 Nov. Funeral certificate by William Ryley, Blue mantle, of Sir John Lawrence of Chelsea Middlesex and of Delaford in Iver Bucks who died this day and was buried in a chapel appropriated to his family in Chelsea Church. He married Grissell daughter and one of the co-heiresses of Jervas Gibbons of Benenden Kent and left issue at his death three sons 1 John 2 Robert 3 Henry and three daughters 1 Anne 2 Frances 3 Grissell."

His monument is placed before the east window of the chapel, which has been partially blocked to receive it. It is a large table of black touch-stone, upon which the inscription is cut within an architrave or border of alabaster, sculptured with Italian arabesques, and surmounted by a cornice and circular pediment, which last are supported at either end by two Corinthian columns of touch, with gilt capitals and bases of alabaster set laterally to the table; the whole resting upon a moulded ledge or bracket of black touch.

Upon the cornice is an achievement of his arms; and below the inscription the same arms, impaling; sable, a lion rampant guardant, between three escallops, or; for Gibbon.

The inscription is as follows:—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF S^R JOHN LAVRENCE LATE OF IVER IN Y^E COVNTY
OF BVCKS KNIGHT AND BARONET WHO MARRIED GRISSSELL
DAUGHTER & COHEIRE OF GERVASE GIBBON OF BENENDEN
IN THE COVNTY OF KENT ESQ BY WHOM HE HAD ISSVE
SEVEN SONS AND FOVRE DAUGHTERS. HEE DECEASED THE
XIITH OF NOVEMB^R 1638 AGED 50 YEARES

WHEN BAD MEN DY & TVRNE TO THEIR LAST SLEEPE
WHAT STIR THE POETS AND INGRAVERS KEEPE
BY A FAIND SKILLE TO PILE THEM VP A NAME
WITH TERMES OF GOOD & IVST OVT LASTING FAME
ALAS POORE MEN SVCH HAVE MOST NEEDE OF STONE
AND EPITHAPHS THE GOOD (INDEED) LACK NONE
THEIRE OWNE TRVE WORTH'S ENOVGH TO GIVE A GLORY
VNTO TH' VNCANKERD RECORDS OF THEIRE STORY
SVCH WAS THE MAN LYES HEERE YET DOTH PERTAKE
OF VERSE AND STONE BUT 'TIS FOR FASHION SAKE.

Lady Lawrence survived her husband, and was buried at Chelsea on 22 March 1674-5. In Strype's edition of "Stowe's Survey of London," published in 1720, is the following note of an inscription. No trace of it is now to be found, nor is any mention made of it by Lysons or Faulkner :

"Sacred to the memory of the Honourable
 Dame GRISEL, Relict of the Honourable
 Sir JOHN LAWRENCE late of IVER in the
 County of BUCKS, kt. and Bar. 1675. Aged
 80. A fruitful parent of children's children's
 Children."

The monument of Sarah, eldest daughter of the goldsmith, who married Richard Colvile, of Newton, in the Isle of Ely, is affixed to the north wall of the chapel, on the west side of that of her father. It is described by Bowack as "a monument very remarkable and surprising, being the representation of a woman about the bigness of the life, as rising from the dead on the last day. She is upon her knees, with eyes and hands lift up towards heaven, fronting the body of the Church, and has her winding sheet wrapped round her. The whole performance being of marble is an extraordinary piece of workmanship."

The figure, which is really but a half length, is carved in alabaster, and set in a shallow recess of black touch which is finished with a semi-circular head. On either side is a Doric column of touch, supporting a carved entablature, surmounted by a pediment.

Upon a slab of black touch within a border of alabaster, which is placed underneath the ledge or bracket which supports the monument, is the following inscription :

SACRED
 TO YE BLESSED MEMORY OF THAT
 VNSTAINED COPY & RARE EXAMPLE
 OF ALL VIRTUE
 SARA
 WIFE TO RICHARD COLVILE OF NEVTON
 IN Y^E ILE OF ELY IN Y^E COVNTY OF
 CAMBRIDGE ESQ DAUGHTER TO

THOMAS LAVRENCE
 OF IVER IN Y^E COVNTY OF BVCKINGHAM ESQ
 WHO IN Y^E 40TH YEARE OF HER
 AGE RECEIVED Y^E GLORIOVS REWARD
 OF HER CONSTANT PIETY
 BEING Y^E HAPPY MOTHER OF 8 SONS
 AND 2 DAUGHTERS

Wonder not (reader) how this stone
 Should be so smooth & pure : there's one
 That lyes within, by whose fayre light
 It shines so cleere & looks so bright
 The Cutter's art could only give
 A forme yet of no power to live ;
 Nor shall it ever loose this grace
 Till she arise & leave the place ;
 For losse of whome y^e mournfull Vrne
 Shall fire, and to Cynders turne.

SHE DIED Y^E 17 OF APRILL

1631.*

Upon the coffin this text is written :

AND YOU SHALL KNOW THAT I AM THE
 LORD WHEN I HAVE OPENED YOUR GRAVES
 O MY PEOPLE AND BROUGHT YOVR VP
 OVT OF YOVR SEPVLCCHRES.

EZEKIEL 37 vers 13

The monument of Lady Salter, in Iver Church, dated 24 April 1631, is similar to this one in character, representing the deceased in grave clothes, rising from out of her coffin. Another, doubtless by the same hand, is that of Temperance Brown, in Steane Church, Northamptonshire, who died in the year 1634, and it is signed thus :

JOHAN } CHRISTMAS { FRATRES
 MATH } 1635 { FECERVNT

* This date is incorrect. "Mrs. Sarah Covell, gentlewoman," was buried on 18 April 1632.

In Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painting" there is a note on Gerard Christmas, which states that his sons John and Matthew were the carvers of the great ship built at Woolwich by Mr. Peter Pett in 1637. From Gough's "Topography," vol. i. p. 579, it appears that they also built a tomb for Sir H. Calthorp, at Ampton in Suffolk.

Upon a shield in the tympanum of the pediment are the arms and crest of Lawrence of Chelsea. At the end of the cornice, on the sinister side, are the following arms impaling those of Lawrence, and surmounted by two crests, namely (1) a lion rampant, and (2) a chess-rook: Quarterly 1 and 4; Azure a lion rampant argent a label of 3 points gules. 2; argent 3 chess-rooks gules for Walsingham. 3; argent on a bend sable a bezant for Pinchbeck.

Sir John Lawrence was succeeded by his eldest son, John, who married May, second daughter of Sir Thomas Hampson, Bart., of Taplow, Bucks, as appears from the following inscription given by Lipscomb in the "History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham," which is supposed to be now in the Orkney vault in the old churchyard at Taplow:

"Here lyes the body of Mary sole daughter of Sr
John Lawrence of Chelsea Baronet, who married
May second daughter of Sr Thomas Hampson
of Taplow, Baronet. She died the 13th. of December 1649
aged 3 years."

"Where rest thou pretty harmless dust
Till Christ shall raise thee with the just
And guard thee with his angels hence
To crown thy spotless Innocence."

Lady Lawrence was buried at Chelsea on 11 October 1664. I can find no record of the death or burial of her husband, but it appears from the entries in the registers at St. Giles'-in-the-Fields, of the baptism of two of his grand-children (see pp. 178 and 179, *post*), that he

died between 19 June 1680, and 18 February 1682, his son being styled "Sir Thomas Lawrence" for the first time on the latter date. He has occasionally been wrongly identified with his namesake and contemporary, the Lord Mayor of London. He is mentioned in Aubrey's "Lives" as having repaired Sir Thomas More's monument in the year 1644. In the same year he was ordered to appear before the Commissioners of both kingdoms of England and Scotland, for attempting to gain a petition on behalf of Charles I. at Wickham (Wycombe?), and sent to the Tower.

It was during his lifetime that Delaford, the family mansion at Iver, was disposed of to Sir George Tash.

Three other of Sir John Lawrence's (the first baronet) children, remain to be noticed, namely, Henry, Frances, and Griselda. Of the other two who survived him, Robert and Anne, I can find nothing recorded.

On a slab of black touch-stone, in the floor of the chapel, is this inscription, now much worn and partly covered by the pews.

Sacred to the memory
of

HENRY LAVRENCE TVRKY MARCHANT
YOUNGEST SONNE OF S^R JOHN LAVRENCE
KNT & BARONET WHO DYED IN THE
30TH YEARE OF HIS AGE, THE 14 OF
OCTOBER 1661

Here rests y^e weary Marchant having tride
And finding this world's traffick vaine, defide
That empty trifle. Now hee's gon to trade
In th' other world for gaines which never fade
Thence you shall see when Hee acquitts this urne
Of everlasting Crownes A brave returne
The stock of goodness he imbarck'd before
Ensures him there an hundred-folde And more.

There is an interesting account of this Henry Lawrence in a book published in 1658, entitled "The baptiz'd Turk," &c., written by the

Rev. Dr. Warmstry, being a narration of the circumstances of the conversion of Rigep Dandulo, which took place at Lady Lawrence's house at Chelsea.

"At Smyrna," the author writes, "he (Dandulo) met with Mr. Lawrence, son of the Lady Lawrence of Chelsey, with whom he fell into some acquaintance." Afterwards Dandulo was sent as an agent to England, and there again met with the same Mr. Lawrence, "by whom he was after some time brought into Chelsey to the house of his worthy mother, where he was kindly entertained. . . . In the time of his being there, he had entered into some familiarity with Mr. Lawrence,* a Turkish merchant, who married the daughter of the Lady Lawrence before mentioned, who finding him, as he conceived, proper for some purpose of his, prevailed with him to stay some longer time in England than he intended to have done. . . . A while after he came again to the Lady Lawrence's at Chelsey, at whose house I happily found him when I came thither one evening to do those observances which I owe unto that worthy lady, by whose favour I enjoy a habitation as her tenant in the town of Chelsey. . . . So in much weakness, with the assistance of Mr. Lawrence afore mentioned, who was pleased to do the part of an interpreter between me and this convert, I made an entrance upon the work of his conversion."

Subsequently "that worthy and learned Divine, Mr. Peter Gunning, addresseth himself unto Chelsey to the house of the Lady Lawrence, who was pleased to give a very favourable and courteous entertainment to all that came about that holy business, which I hope will be returned in many blessings upon her family."

The following entry in Pepys' Diary probably refers to Henry Lawrence :—

"22 December 1660. Went to the Sun Tavern on Fish Street Hill to a dinner of Captain Teddiman's where was [amongst others] one Mr. Laurence (a fine gentleman, now going to Algiers) and other good Company, where we had a very fine dinner, I very merry. Went to bed, my head aching all night."

* This was Isaac Lawrence, of whom see page 171, *post*.

In the floor of the passage which leads from the chapel into the chancel is a large slab of black touch-stone, which is partly covered by the pews, bearing this inscription :

<u>In the hum</u>	ble hope of a Blessed
	Resurrection
<u>Here</u>	lyeth whatsoever
<u>was mor</u>	tall of the Excellent
<u>MRS. FR</u>	ANCES LAURENCE
<u>who</u>	for her truly Loyall
<u>princ</u>	iples to the Crown,
<u>& cons</u>	tancy to the Church
<u>? suffere</u>	d in the worst of Times
<u>for</u>	three score and ten years
<u>? she was</u>	allwais a Virgin: she was
<u>? eldest dau</u>	ghter to S ^R JOHN LAURENCE
<u>of Iver in</u>	the county of Bucks
<u>Knight and</u>	Baronet by DAME GRISSELL
	his only Wife
<u>be</u>	ing worthy of such parents
<u>she de</u>	parted this life at Chelsey
<u>the</u>	18th (?) day of November
<u>A</u>	nno domini 1685

Mrs. Frances Lawrence was buried on November 28. In her will (P.C.C. Cann 152) are mentioned her nephew Thomas, son of her sister Grissell and Isaac Lawrence, all of whom will be noticed presently. There is a legacy, too, to "Lady and Mr. Hastings"; and another, of "the ivory box in my Japanese cabinet to my kinswoman Lady Huntingdon."

Grisel, or Griselda, youngest daughter of Sir John Lawrence, the first baronet, married Isaac, third son of William Lawrence, of Shurdington in the county of Gloucester, and was buried at Chelsea, as she directed in her will on 6 March, 1700-1.

The children of this marriage were as follows :—

Henry, baptized 1 February 1653-4, and buried 20 April following, at Chelsea.

Thomas, baptized 28 March 1655, and buried 15 July 1691, at Chelsea.

Mary, baptized 12 November 1656, and buried 13 July 1657, at Chelsea.

Jane, baptized 14 June 1658, and buried 11 August following, at Chelsea.

Margaret, baptized 5 January 1652-3, and buried at Chelsea 17 October 1670.

Of Isaac Lawrence it is not necessary here to say more than what is alleged against him in a letter signed "St. Ives" which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in August 1829, shortly after the appearance of the second edition of Faulkner's "History of Chelsea." The writer was, no doubt, Sir James Lawrence, the author of an essay "On the Nobility of the English Gentry." The letter began thus :

"MR. URBAN,—The considerable addition will no doubt insure to Mr. Faulkner's 'History of Chelsea' the approbation of the public : but the greater the success of a work, the greater is the necessity to correct its errors ; and Dr. Whitaker in his 'History of Richmondshire' having given the descent of the Lawrences of Ashton Hall in Lancashire, it is surprising that Mr. Faulkner should repeat, without any comment, the genealogical reveries of an inhabitant of Chelsea ; . . . Isaac Lawrence descended from a race of substantial yeomen in Gloucestershire, having married the daughter of Sir John Lawrence of Chelsea, set about making the Lawrences of Gloucestershire the head of all the Lawrences ; and composed the pedigree from which Mr. Faulkner has made such extraordinary extracts, both in prose and verse. Numerous copies had long circulated in private. It is several feet long. The cross raguly gules is painted in it more than seventy times. It is entitled, A curious pedigree from an ancient manuscript. It is, indeed, a curiosity."

Thomas, the eldest surviving son of Isaac and Griselda, is

mentioned in his aunt Frances' will as being Rector of Borton in Warwickshire, where he died in the year 1691. He was a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Amongst the additional MSS. at the British Museum (No. 24,425) is a very interesting letter written by Mr. C. G. Young, York Herald, to Thomas Campbell, who wished to prove the descent of Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A., from Isaac and Grisel Lawrence, in which it is shown that as no children of Thomas Lawrence are mentioned in the Borton Registers, and as administration of his effects was granted to his mother, it is improbable that he left any issue, even if he were married.

Sir Thomas Lawrence, the third Baronet, was the eldest son of the second Sir John Lawrence. The earliest record of him which I can find is the following, amongst the Marriage Allegations in the Registry of the Vicar General of the Archbishop of Canterbury :

" 18 May 1674, Thomas Lawrence of Chelsea Middlesex Esq. Bachelor, about 28, and Mrs. Anne English of St. Clement Danes, Spinster, about 20 : consent of mother, Mrs. Elizabeth English, of same, widow. At St. Leonard's Shoreditch, or St. Saviour's Southwark."

Anthony Wood gives the following account of him (*Fasti Oxon.*, page 845) :

" This person who was lately a Gent. Com. of St. *Johns* Coll., but now Fellow of that *Univ.*, was eldest Son of Sir *John Lawrence* of *Chelsey* in Middlesex Bt., and being esteemed an ingenious person, he was elected Musick reader for the *Act* in 1671. While he was of St. *Johns* Coll., he was appointed to speak a Speech in verse before the King, Queen, and Duchess of *York*, when they in the afternoon of the 29th of *Sept.* 1663, went to visit that Coll. : wch being well performed, they were printed with this title *Verses spoken to the King Queen and Duchess of York in S. Johns Library in Oxon.*, printed at the end of *Verses spoken, &c.*, by *Thom. Ireland*, mentioned in these *Fasti*, an. 1657."

Another note of him occurs in a letter (not dated, but probably written in the year 1702) from Gilbert Clark to Thomas Coke, M.P. (Earl Cowper's MSS.), which is as follows :

" I may suppose you are not ignorant that the Governor of Mary-

land has left that place. Among the rest who make all their interest for such an important thing is Sir Thomas Lawrence, whose character is reported extraordinary, and whose name is not unknown to the Queen, for his second son [this was Henry, his 3rd son] was captain and play-fellow to the Duke of Gloucester, much beloved by him and then the Princess. He was afterwards lost with the Carlisle ship . . .”

The suggestions that he was “an ingenious person,” and that “his character was reported extraordinary” are strengthened, perhaps, by a curious story related in Mrs. Manley’s “Secret Memoirs,” better known as “The New Atalantis” (vol. i. page 178), which, though of a piece with the book, may, perhaps, have some slight foundation in fact.

Sir Thomas is represented as “a Chevalier, but under some circumstances that had impaired his estate. He resolved to absent himself till time and his better economy should redeem the misfortune.” A part of this “better economy” formed the groundwork of Mrs. Manley’s history. “The Chevalier had made a slight acquaintance,” the story continues, “with a gentleman of so considerable estate that few (who are not noble) had better, and even many of them not so good. He takes his wife and two children with him some sixty odd miles into the country to this gentleman under pretence of making him a visit. The gentleman entertained him according to his temper, not only with hospitality, but generosity: his soul was large, he loved expense, and to live up to that mighty fortune he possessed. After a little while the Chevalier takes his leave of him, and begs that his wife and children may remain there till his return, which you may be sure he told them would not be long.

“His lady was not handsome, but had a prodigious deal of wit and management . . . Meantime they heard nothing from the Chevalier . . . in short, one year, two years, and several years passed on, but no news of the Chevalier. . . . Still she was entertained with as much, or more, respect than at first. Care was taken that the best masters should be had to educate the children, who were both very handsome, you saw the daughter, and I can assure you nothing is more agreeable than her son.”

Further, the gentleman “caused his sister’s son to be brought to

his house, and made him take his education with Laurentina's children, and ordered him to make his court to Mademoiselle Margerita, and endeavour to please her; the youth was one of those that, without being ill-natured, had nothing benign in his temper. He was come from a mother that hated Laurentina and all her works . . . The surly youth opposed Margerita in all her little desires, and thwarted her at her exercise, whether in dancing or singing (for she had a very pretty voice), or any other diversion; there was nothing but perpetual complaints of rudeness to Margerita; his uncle reprimanded him in vain.

"Meantime certain news arrived (not from himself but others) that the Chevalier was well, and in the Indies." Further than this we need not follow, save to record, in justice to Mademoiselle Margerita, the change of feeling evinced by the surly nephew, which concludes the story.

"Rinaldo (come back from the Academy) fell passionately in love (as much as his soul could love) with Mademoiselle Margerita. Those that pretend to divine seem to think that it will one day be a match, though it does not appear to be either of their interests. . . . Rinaldo is perpetually with Margerita."

In Burke's "Extinct Baronetage" it is stated that Sir Thomas Lawrence spent all his estate and emigrated to Maryland. As a matter of fact his connection with Maryland began in 1691, soon after the colony was taken over by the Crown from Lord Baltemore, when he was appointed secretary.

Among the Records of the Board of Trade, now in the Public Record Office, are five volumes (Nos. 2 to 6) relating to Maryland which contain a number of documents concerning Sir Thomas Lawrence. One of the earliest of these is a list of persons recommended to the Governor to be Councillors in the colony; the first name on the list, which has been added by another hand, is that of Sir Thomas Lawrence, Baronet. A second list is endorsed "*List of persons recommended to be of their Majesties Council in Maryland,*" the words italicised being erased. This is also headed by Sir Thomas Lawrence's name.

On 5 September 1691, Sir Thomas was formally appointed Secre-

tary of Maryland (Patent Rolls, quoted by T. C. Hotten in his "List of Emigrants, &c."). But it would seem that he had taken up that position a little before this date, as a memorial from him was received by the Board of Trade and Plantations on September 15 in the same year.

This memorial is on the subject of the fees, or "ordinary licences," claimed to be perquisites of the Secretaryship, and it is the beginning of a long and tedious dispute that continues through the whole course of Sir Thomas's Secretaryship.

The Governor, Colonel Copley, alludes to the matter in a letter written to the Board about the same date, concluding, "This I humbly hope will satisfy your Lordships that this trouble given by Sir Thomas Lawrence is no better grounded than upon imagination." No later, however, than October in the next year, a very strong memorial was sent to the Board, signed by the Governor and the Councillors, containing serious allegations against the Secretary, as that he had seized upon three most lucrative offices for himself, and that, further, he was stirring up discontent against their Majesties' Government in the Colony. And on 11 April 1693, a further communication was addressed to the Board, which stated that "we have been necessitated at last to commit and confine Sir Thomas upon several articles of impeachment," accompanied by depositions of witnesses and other papers relating to his arrest.

The matter was duly examined, with the result that on 28 September 1693, an order was made by the Queen in Council restoring to Sir Thomas his liberty, and his place of Councillor and Secretary, and ordering "that he receive no molestation or disturbance."

The copy of this order filed with the papers at the Record Office is of some interest, as it is signed thus :

" May 21st. 1694.

"A true copy executed by me, THOMAS LAURENCE."

This Thomas Lawrence was the second son of the baronet, and there has been some confusion between the father and son.

After this there are several documents from Maryland bearing or

mentioning Sir Thomas' name, but which it is not necessary to specify here, until the year 1698.

In volume 3 (B. 36) is "a list of the papers received from Sir Thomas Lawrence relating to the Province of Maryland," which is further endorsed :

"Brought to the Board by Sir Thomas himself, received 29th. July 1698."

The list is also signed at the foot thus :

"Maryland, May 26, 1698. Received . . . all the papers within mentioned which I promise God willing, to deliver to the Rt. Hon. the Lords Commissioners for Trade and foreign Plantations at my arrival in England. THOMAS LAWRENCE."

It appears from some subsequent documents that Sir Thomas' return to England was occasioned by his bad health, and not, as has been sometimes alleged, by misconduct. On his return to England his appointment of Secretary was revoked (though he still continued a Councillor), and his son Thomas was appointed Secretary in his place (Patent Rolls, 20 September, Will. III., quoted by Hotten).

On 6 August 1700, Colonel Blakiston, then Governor, wrote from Maryland to the Board as to his difficulty in getting a quorum of Councillors. "There are now," he wrote, "two absent who resided on this side of the Bay, viz., Sir Thomas Lawrence who has been absent two years in England and without his Majesty's licence. . . . If I might for the more easy dispatch of business presume to acquaint your Lordships if you would be pleased to recommend Mr. Thomas Lawrence the present Secretary to his Majesty in the room of his father in the Council, it would much add to the dispatch of business, and in justice to the said Mr. Lawrence his deportment hitherto seems to recommend him to the promotion."

In an abstract of this letter which is filed with it, a note is made against this matter of Mr. Lawrence's appointment to the Council, "'Tis done." A copy of the warrant for his appointment follows, dated Hampton Court, 20 October 1700. Then a letter from

Colonel Blakiston, dated Maryland, 15 April 1701, beginning thus :
“ May it please your Lordships, although the shipp is now under
sayle I could not hold my duty excused to your Lordships without
acquainting you that Mr. Thomas Lawrence, his Majesty's Secretary
of this Province, is this day dead of a feavour. . . .”

This letter is endorsed as having been received on 8 June ; on
10 June the following petition was laid before the Council :

“ To his most excellent Majesty

“ The humble Petition of Sir THOMAS LAWRENCE Bart.

“ Humbly sheweth

“ That your Majesty having been graciously pleased some years
since to bestow the office of Secretary of your Province of Maryland on
your Petitioner. He suffered great hardships under Colonel Lionel
Copley the Governor in the execution of the said office.

“ That your Petitioner was at great charge in settling the rights of it
against the oppressions of Colonel Copley and the opposition of the
Lord Baltimore.

“ That in the year 1698 returning very ill from thence into England
for the recovery of his health your Majesty was graciously pleased to
confirm the said office on Thomas Lawrence son to your Petitioner.

“ That your Petitioner having unfortunately lost his son Henry a
volunteer in your Majesty's ship the Carlisle, and his son Thomas
now lately dead in Maryland, and great arrears of the fees of the said
office being due not only to his said son deceased but to himself since
he quitted the same, humbly prays

“ That your Majesty will once more be pleased to conferr the said
office of Secretary of Maryland on your Petitioner

“ And he shall ever pray

“ THOMAS LAWRENCE.”

The petition was followed up by a letter from Sir Thomas dated
12 June, on which day the warrant was made re-appointing him
Secretary. In Hotten's Lists above quoted the appointment is given,
from the Patent Rolls, as on 11 July.

Sir Thomas embarked without much delay, writing from Maryland on 8 December, stating that he sailed on 9 September, arriving on 11 November.

In July 1702, Governor Blakiston returned to England, and Seymour was appointed Governor in the following January. This was no doubt the occasion referred to in the letter quoted above (p. 172), as to Sir Thomas applying for the Governorship. I find no paper relating to his application.

At the beginning of the year 1704 a further letter was received by the Board from Sir Thomas, in which he asked for leave to return to England on account of his health. And in a letter dated 23 May following, Colonel Seymour writes:

"Sir Thomas Lawrence, her Majesty's Secretary of the Province finding himself much impaired in his health and uneasy in his office, the assembly refusing to continue to him the benefit of the ordinary Licence . . . will wait upon your Lordships to present . . . these papers . . ."

This, it seems, was Sir Thomas' last farewell to Maryland. As soon as he arrived in England he devoted himself keenly to recovering arrears of the "Ordinary Licences," and there are numerous petitions and other documents relating to this matter.

On 10 December 1705, a warrant was passed for his continued absence from his post of Secretary "during pleasure," his health being bad, and having suffered losses in his office. In 1708 an order in Council was made, approving his complaints, and a letter was written to the Governor to restore the Ordinary Licences to him. After this are several further memorials, but nothing to show how or when the matter was finally disposed of.

Sir Thomas was buried at Chelsea on 25 April 1714, when the baronetcy appears to have become extinct. His wife survived him and was buried at Chelsea on 1 November 1723.

His children were as follows :

Anne, baptized 4th May 1675, and buried 21st August following, at Chelsea.

John, baptized at Chelsea 5th November, 1676.

Thomas, baptized at S. Giles-in-the-Fields 10th December 1678. (Died in Maryland 15 April 1701.)

Giles, baptized at S. Giles 19th June 1680, buried 28th December following at Chelsea. "*Son of Mr. Thomas Lawrence, Esq.*"

Anna, baptized 20th June 1681 at S. Giles'. ("Anne Lawrence, infant" was buried at Chelsea 9th November in the same year.)

Mary (? Margaret), baptized at S. Giles' 18th February 1682. "Daughter of *Sir Thomas Lawrence* and Anne his wife.

Henry, baptized at S. Giles' 8th August 1684. (Lost with the *Carlisle*.)

Amongst the printed books at the British Museum (516 M. 18. ff. 113-4) are two documents relating to the case of John Lawrence, Esq. v. Robert Blatchford (and others), to be heard on 16 December 1704, being an appeal from an order or Decree made in the Court of Chancery on 26 February in that year. The appellants are Sir Thomas Lawrence, Bart., and John Lawrence, Esq. (his son), and from the respondent's case it appears that the dispute concerned some settlements made on the marriage of John Lawrence with Elizabeth, only child and heiress of Eustace Man, of Osborne, in the Isle of Wight.

The respondents alleged that "the Appellant, John Lawrence, hearing Elizabeth was a very considerable fortune, did make addresses to her by way of marriage:" and it appears that the marriage took place on 18 January 1699, and that Elizabeth died intestate, and without issue, and under the age of twenty-one.

She was buried at Chelsea on 9 August 1701.

Of Henry, Sir Thomas' third son, I can find no other record than those already quoted.

The following notes of the will of Mr. Thomas Lawrence are contained in a letter, which is now before me, written in 1882, by the late Captain Lawrence Archer to the Rev. R. Gwynne Lawrence.

Captain Archer was so enthusiastic a searcher after the truth about the Lawrences in America, that I am glad to quote one of his results, at all events. A large volume of his papers has lately been acquired by the British Museum.

Thomas Lawrence styles himself in the preamble 'Gentleman, His Majesty's Secretary of the Province of Maryland.' He leaves his funeral arrangements to his friend Major William Dent as a 'last act of friendship in a country where I am a stranger, he having been a just and kind friend to my father and self'—appoints him 'sole administrator' to render an account 'of all my estate as well as of my father's' and to 'return the residue of both estates unto Sir Thos. Lawrence, Bart., excepting such legacies as are left by me in this country.' 'I give unto my beloved father all the money and tobacco that shall be found due to me, except ten thousand pounds of tobacco that will be found due to me, and a ring of five pounds which I bequeath to Major William Dent' . . . 'After my assets are returned to England, my father to give to my honoured mother £50 sterling and a ring' . . . 'to my brothers* and sisters* each a mourning ring' . . . 'to Mrs. Crawford Simpson my watch' . . . dated 9th March 1699-1700. Signature and seal of arms.

'The Deposition of His Excellency Nathaniel Blakiston Esq., taken 19 April 1701. That on Tuesday morning being the 15th inst, some few hours before the Honourable Thomas Lawrence Esquire Secretary of this Province died . . . the said Mr. Lawrence acquainted his Excellency that he had made his will' and that 'he had done an unadvised thing therein, which was, bequeathing his watch to Mrs. Crawford Simpson, which he then desired might be given to his sister Mrs. Margaret Lawrence.'

The reasonable supposition that none of the three sons of Sir Thomas Lawrence left any issue is confirmed by the fact that the Chelsea property passed to its present owners through Sir Thomas' only surviving daughter, Margaret (see p. 181, *infra*).

In Nicol's "Leicestershire" (vol. iv. pp. 311-12) is an abstract of some deeds relating to the Manor of Misterton in that county, the

* *Sic*,

first of which dated 5 May 1710, is a settlement of property made in consideration of a marriage intended between Crew Offley, of the Parish of S. Giles'-in-the-Fields, and Margaret, spinster, only daughter of Sir Thomas Lawrence of Chelsea and Dame Anne his wife.

This Crew Offley (whom I am unable to identify with "Rinaldo") was the younger son of John Offley, of Madeley, in the county of Stafford, and his wife Anne, daughter and heiress of John Crew of Crew in the county of Chester. His elder brother, John Crew Offley, dropped his surname of Offley, and from him is descended the present Lord Crewe.

In the Chelsea Registers are these entries relating to the Offleys :

- Burials. 1711. July 27. Mrs. Ann Crew, daughter of Crew Offley Esq.
1712. Aug. 20. John Crew, son of Crew Offley Esq.
1716. May 4. Crew, son of Crew Offley Esq.
1717. May 10. Margaret, daughter of Crew Offley Esq.
1724 Feb. 12. Mrs. Margaret Offley, wife of Crew
-25. Offley Esq.
1739. July 6. Crew Offley Esq.
1749. Sept. 4. Lawrence Offley Esq.
1784. Apl. 10. John Offley Esq.

Crew Offley, described in his will as of Whichnor, county Stafford (an estate which was devised to him by his mother), devised his property at Chelsea (specific mention being made of the "chappell and the profits thereof") to his elder son, John, with certain reservations in favour of his younger son, Lawrence.

John, dying unmarried, devised all his property to his first cousin Francis Needham, the younger son of Mary Offley, who had married Robert, seventh Viscount Kilmorey.

The old Manor House was pulled down a little before 1704, in which year Dr. King mentions that "Sir Thomas Lawrence his house before [it was] pulled down paid one pound, as appears from

Dr. Littleton's book. Now it is built into many tenements, the offerings come to much more yearly."

There are numerous entries in the Middlesex Register of deeds relating to the various houses in and about Lawrence Street which were built on the site. The following notes of two of these deeds establish some of the data given above :

1712. Sept. 20. Indenture between Crew Offley and his wife Margaret concerning "All those several new erected messuages being about 33 in number situate and built upon the Toft or soil whereon an antient messuage heretofore belonging to Dame Grissel Lawrence great grandmother to the said Margaret Offley and on the yards and gardens thereto and upon a little close adjoining the said messuage and all the rest and residue of the said yards close and gardens not yet built on And of all that little Chapell and building situate in the north aisle of the parish Church of Chelsea aforesaid commonly called the Lord's Chapel . . ."

1750. March 22 & 23. Lease and Release between "John Offley of Whichnor in the county of Stafford Esq : (the eldest son and heir of Crew Offley late of the same place Esq. deceased and of Margaret his late wife also deceased heretofore Margaret Lawrence the sister and heir at law of John Lawrence her brother deceased who was the eldest son and heir at law of Sir Thomas Lawrence heretofore of Chelsea in the County of Middlesex Baronet deceased who was the grandson and heir at law of Dame Grissel Lawrence late of Chelsea aforesaid widow deceased and the said John Offley is brother and heir at law of Lawrence Offley Esq. deceased who was the younger son of the said Crew Offley by the said Margaret his wife) of the one part and William Grimley of Pall Mall in the parish of St. James' Westminster in the said County of Middlesex Linen Draper and Jane his wife of the other part. Purporting to be a conveyance of all that messuage or tenement with the garden and appurtenances thereto belonging situate in Lawrence Street in the Town of Chelsea aforesaid now in the tenure or occupation of — Washburn and which said messuage or tenement garden and premises is one of the 33 messuages or tenements heretofore erected and built on a toft or the ground whereon an ancient messuage stood heretofore belonging to the said Dame Grissel Lawrence and upon the yards and gardens thereto belonging and upon a little croft to the said ancient messuage adjoining."

Such are the records of the Lawrences of Chelsea, a family remarkable for neither wealth, nor descent, nor any exceptional merit : yet of more than common interest in connection with Chelsea and its Parish Church in which five generations of them are buried.

CHAPTER XI

THE PARSONAGE

"THE ancient Parsonage House," says Dr. King, "with fourteen acres and twenty-two perches of land, stood where Mr. Priest's or Mr. Dowell's stands, west of the Duke of Beaufort's, then the Marquis of Winchester's, whence Mr. Priest's Close is called Parsonage Close to this day. In lieu of which upon an exchange the present house and land about it was given to the Rectory for ever by the consent of the Queen the then patron, Dr. Edmund Grindall, Bishop of London, and Robert Richardson, Rector of Chelsea, who conveyed the old house and land to the Marquis by writing bearing date 3rd May, 1566" (see Add. MS. 15609).

The description of the old glebe in the Royal Charter quoted by Faulkner clearly identifies it as the land now bounded by the King's Road on the north, Milman's Row on the east, the Thames on the south, and Dartrey Street on the west. Of the old house, however, I can find no certain trace: though I am satisfied that it was neither Priest's, which was not built till the beginning of the seventeenth century, nor Lindsey House, which was the "Farm," nor Mr. Dowell's, which is shown on the plan in Dr. King's MS. as a small building at the south-east corner of "Milman's Row," of which I can find no earlier mention than 1714.* The probability is that it stood on the glebe itself, fronting the river: but the earliest conveyance of this parcel at the Middlesex Registry affords no clue to its identity.

* A conveyance by John Baker Dowell of Over (*sic*) co. Gloucester to Walsingham Heathfield citizen and distiller of London. (Midx. Reg. 1714, Bk. 5, No. 38.)

Of the advowson I have already spoken above (p. 1) as belonging to the Abbey of Westminster, as Lords of the Manor. It did not pass under Gervas' grant; for when the king purchased the beneficial interest in the Manor from Lord Sandes, he had still to reckon with the Abbey, and compounded with them, in a subsequent exchange, for the fee farm rent of £4, and the advowson (Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. pt. 2, m. 5).

The list of Rectors given by Newcourt is far from complete, and Faulkner's reprint of it is by no means accurate. The list here printed is taken from the Rev. George Henessy's "Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Londinense" (Lond. 1898).

NAME.	APPOINTED.	VACATES.	AUTHORITY.
Reginald de S. Albans .	...15 Jan. 1289-90...	1299 ... —	...Add. MS. 15364, f. 365.
Sir Robert de Staundone ...	—	... —	—
Roger de Berners .	... 1 May 1316	... 1316 ... resd	...Pat. 9 Ed. II. p. 2.
Wm de Bray. .	... 22 Dec. 1316	...1318-19... read	...Pat. 10 Ed. II. p. 1.
Nicholas Hosbounde .	...21 Mar. 1318-19...	1348 ...died	...Cal. Pap. Reg. vol. ii. p. 184.
Martin de Moulsh .	... 1 Sept. 1348	... —	...Pat. 22 Ed. III. p. 2.
William Palmer .	...	... 1368 ...exch	...
Thomas de Preston .	... 23 Sept. 1368	... 1368 ...exch	...Sudbury, 57.
John Basset .	... 19 Oct. 1368	... 1371 ...exch	...Langham Rg. Cant. 107.
John Wright de Stansted ...	... 23 Dec. 1371	... 1372 ...exch	...Sudbury Lond. Reg. 89.
John de Foydon	... 25 Nov. 1372	... 1374 ... —	...Sudbury Reg. Cant. 94.
(v. Foxdon) .			
Richard Mokynton .	...	... 1385 ...exch	...
Richard Everdon .	... 5 Aug. 1385	... 1388 ...exch	...Braybroke, 38.
John Beaugraunt .	... 31 Oct. 1388	... 1392 ...exch	... 63.
John Bishop .	... 4 Nov. 1392	... 1394 ...resd	... 101.
John Balsham .	... 25 June 1394	... 1394-5 ...exch	... 122.
Robert Orum .	... 14 Mar. 1394-5	... —	... 129.
John Cambridge .	...	... 1406 ... —	...
Peter Hynewyk .	...	... 1411 ...exch	...
John Abbey .	... 5 Nov. 1411	... —	...W. D. 13 f. 6.
Robert Broun .	...	... 1413 ...exch	...

THE PARSONAGE

185

NAME.	APPOINTED.	VACATES.	AUTHORITY.
Richard Cosyn . . .	14 July 1413	—	... Cant. Reg. Arundell pt. 2 f. 69.
John Scarburgh . . .	—	1433	... exch... —
Geoffrey Medewe . . .	26 March 1433	1435	... exch... Walden, pt. Fitz Hugh, 17.
Alexr. Brown . . .	21 Aug. 1435	1442	... exch... „ 37.
Thomas Boleyn . . .	15 July 1442	—	... — ... Gilbert, 44.
Wm. Walesby . . .	—	1450	... read ... —
Wm. Lilly . . .	17 Oct. 1450	1451	... exch... Kemp. 6.
Thomas Shalers . . .	24 Nov. 1451	1451	... died ... „ 14.
Wm. Fideon . . .	8 Dec. 1451	1454	... exch ... „ 14.
John Pennant . . .	11 July 1454	1455	... exch... „ 32.
Wm. Hebbing . . .	3 March 1455-6...	1456	... exch... „ 39.
Wm. Massanger . . .	18 Oct. 1456	1469-70	... died ... „ 42.
Wm. Mill, S.T.B. . . .	26 Jan. 1469-70...	1481	... exch... „ 121.
John Mardelay . . .	13 July 1481	1486	... read ... „ 184.
Thos. Machey . . .	31 Oct. 1486	1492	... read ... „ 210.
Geo. Percy als. Gard . . .	6 June 1492	—	... — ... Hill, 7.
Wm. Ingelard . . .	—	1502	... read ... —
Robt. Tunstall . . .	26 Sept. 1502	1503	... read ... Hill, 40.
Thos. Loworth . . .	16 Dec. 1503	—	... — ... „ 44.
Robt. Dandie . . .	—	1530	... read ... —
John Larke . . .	29 March 1530	1543-44	... attd ... Tunstall, 167.
Robt. Richardson . . .	19 Mar. 1543-4	1554	... remd... Bonner, 243.
James Proctor . . .	15 June 1554	1554	... died ... Pat. 1 Mary, p. 2.
Richd. Myers . . .	3 Aug. 1554	1558	... died ... Bonner, 454.
Matthew Myers . . .	8 Oct. 1558	—	... — ... „ 477.
Robt. Richardson . . .	12 June 1566	—	... — ... Pat. 8 Eliz. pt. 5.
John Churchman . . .	8 Feb. 1569-70	1574	... read ... Grindall, 153.
Thos. Browne, S.T.B. . . .	7 June 1574	1585	... died ... „ 175.
Richd. Ward . . .	18 June 1585	1615	... died ... „ 220.
Geo. Hambden, S.T.P. . . .	2 Dec. 1615	1632	... died ... Bancroft, 195.
Saml. Wilkinson, S.T.P. . . .	4 Dec. 1632	1669	... died ... Laud, 69.
Adam Littleton, D.D. . . .	3 Feb. 1669-70	1694	... died ... Henchman, 145.
John King, D.D. . . .	22 Nov. 1694	1732	... died ... Compton, 131.
Sloane Elsmere . . .	12 June 1732	1766	... died ... Gibson, 252.
Reginald Heber . . .	3 Dec. 1766	1770	... read ... Osbaldiston, 24.
Thos. Drake, LL.D. . . .	3 Aug. 1770	1775	... died ... „ 38.
W. Bromley Cadogan . . .	27 May 1775	1797	... died ... „ 61b.
Chas. Sturges . . .	4 May 1797	1805	... died ... Porteus, 331.
Hon. G. V. Wellesley . . .	14 Aug. 1805	...	

It is noticeable that out of forty-one Rectors mentioned in this list before the Reformation, only three died at Chelsea. One of these is commemorated by a slab of Purbeck, which lies in the floor of the chancel, on the north side, bearing the matrix of a brass, now lost, of a priest habited in a cope, with an inscription at the foot. Faulkner gives a coloured woodcut of an ecclesiastic in mass habit, and calls it "John Scarborough Rector of Chelsea 1433," but without making any allusion to it in the text, or giving any authority for the cut. Evidently it is no more authentic than the other two cuts mentioned on p. 46 *supra*, which appear on the same plate. From the form of the matrix it is certain that the brass was not of earlier date than the middle of the fifteenth century, and it may therefore be assigned either to Thomas Shalers (1451), or to William Massanger (1470) who were the only two Rectors who died at Chelsea within that period.

Sir Robert de Staundone is mentioned as Rector of Chelchelhulth in the will of his brother Gerard, Rector of Stevenage, which was proved in the Court of Hustings, London, 2 February 1314-5.

John Larke, the last Rector who was appointed before the Reformation, was a personal friend of Sir Thomas More, who obtained a grant of the next presentation at Chelsea from the Abbot of Westminster and transferred Larke from Woodford in Essex. He continued at Chelsea till 1544, when he was beheaded for denying the King's supremacy.

Robert Richardson was first appointed to Chelsea on the attainder of Larke. Two years later, as appears from the "Acts of the Privy Council" (N. S. vol. i. p. 485), "Sir Robert Richardson, parson of Chelsith, who had remained in the custody of the Bishop of London for his light behaviour in matters of religion, repenting his former lewdness, was with a good lesson and submission dismissed and put to liberty." He was ejected from Chelsea by Mary for being a married priest, but was re-instituted by Elizabeth. An interesting summary of his career is given in Mr. Beaver's "Memorials" (p. 371).

Richard Myers, who was appointed Rector on August 3, 1554, also appears to have been a victim to the unsettled state of opinion in his time. Within two months of his institution, a true bill was

returned at the Middlesex Sessions. that Thomas Hungerford, gentleman, Robert Tuckfurthe, gentleman, John Shelley, Thomas Kylye, and Thomas Collyn, husbandmen, all of Chelsey, notoriously, and by force, entered a certain messuage or rectory called the parsonage of Chelsey with its appurtenances at Chelsey, and dispossessed Richard Myers, rector of the Parish Church of Chelsey of the said parsonage, and having so dispossessed him still keep him out of his said parsonage even until this 4th day of October.*

During Elizabeth's reign several true bills are returned against various inhabitants of Chelsea "for not going to Church, Chapel, or any place of common prayer."

Richard Ward, who held the living for thirty years and died in 1615, is the first of the Rectors whose burial is recorded in the Parish Register. His predecessor, Dr. Thomas Browne, who died at Chelsea in 1585, was buried in the cloisters at Westminster.

The following entries relate to Richard Ward and his family:—

- 1594. July 25. Thomas Farwell generos* & Anna Warde
puella nupti erant.†
- 1597-8. Jan. 4. Franciscus Butler et Maria Warde nupti
erant.
- 1605. Dec. 16. Catheryn the wife of Rich. Warde then
Parson of Chelsey was buried.
- 1606-7. Jan. 29. Richard Warde parson marryed Elizab.
Fisher.
- 1607. Dec. 26. Elizabetha fil. Ric. Ward Rectoris baptiz.
erat.
- 1607-8. Mch. 22. Elizabeth daughtr of Rich. Warde parson
was buried.
- 1609. Nov. 1. Prudencia fil. Rich. Warde Rectoris baptiz.
erat.

* Middlesex County Record Society. Vol. I.

† "Thos. Farewell of the Midle Temple generos : maryed Eliz Skeringto vid 28^o
Apl. 1611."

1610-11. Feb. 10. Prudence the daughter of Richard Warde
parson buried.

1615. Dec. 2. Richard Ward parson buried. Susan Ward
buried.

It appears from documents which I shall presently quote, that it was Richard Ward who instituted the School House which still stands at the north-west corner of the churchyard. From a "Church Book," now lost, but quoted by Faulkner, the date is obtained, 1603, and further particulars are given in Dr. King's MS. as follows :—

"The Clerk's House and Yard, 46 feet long and 17 broad, was a piece of waste land adjoining the Church, and thought to be part thereof: but by consent of the Lord of the Manor, the Earl of Nottingham, about 60 years before, was built by Mr. Ward, Rector of Chelsea, by £10 given by Bishop Fletcher, the Bishop of London, and the rest he disbursed himself for the Clerk's habitation and school house."

The following account of the rebuilding of the House by William Petyt in 1705 is taken from a "deed of acknowledgment" which is inscribed in the Vestry Minutes :—

"Whereas there is a piece of ground belonging to the said Parish of Chelsea on which there stands an old house now adjoining to and part of the Church Yard and contiguous to Chelsea Church on the north side of the said Church to which piece of ground if some feet of ground more were added towards the Church and also into a lane called Church Lane the said old house being taken away a convenient building may be erected thereupon for the purposes aforesaid.

"And whereas Wm Petyt of the Inner Temple London Esq. and Keeper of Her Majestie's Records within the Tower of London having for many years lived in the same Town of Chelsea hath declared that the said old House being pulled down and such ground as he shall see convenient being added out of the said Church Yard and Church Lane to the ground on which the said old House doth stand, That he wil

out of respect to the said Town and Charity to the poor Children that now are and at all times hereafter shall be in or belonging to the same towards their Instruction and Education in Learning upon the said old and new ground to be added there to erect a Building which shall contain a Vestry for transacting the affairs of the said Parish a School wherein the poor Children of the said Town may from time to time be taught Gratis and Lodgings for any School Master and School Masters who shall from time to time be employ'd for teaching such Children gratis the School Master and School Masters from time to time and the said poor Children that are to be taught Gratis being to be nominated and appointed by the Rector Churchwardens Overseers of the Poor and Vestrymen for ye time being or the major part of them and so as after ye said Building shall be erected the same shall be repaired maintained and upheld by and at the costs and charges of the said Parish for ever. The said School Master and School Masters to be employ'd for such teaching the Children to be paid by the said Parish. Now these Presents witness that we the said Rector Churchwardens Overseers of the Poor and Inhabitants of the said Town and Parish of Chelsea do render unto the said Wm Petyt our hearty thanks and acknowledgm^t for his Respect to the sd Town and Charity to the Poor Children thereof and in order to enable him to perform what he has declared We do as far as in us lyes Authorize and empower him the sd Wm Petyt to pull down or cause to be pulled down the sd old House . . ."

In 1890 the building was again demolished and re-erected in facsimile, and the inscription on the tablet re-cut. The full-length portrait of Petyt was restored and hung in the principal room.

It is perhaps worth recording that this school, founded in 1603, became the first "Board School" under the Act of 1870. Some little time before, a zealous band of young men in the Old Church congregation had collected a fund for educating poor children in the parish, and applied to my father, the present Incumbent, for the use of the Petyt House on weekdays for that purpose. As time went on, however, the fund began to give out, and my father then applied to

the new Board, who responded by taking over the school as a "going concern," keeping on the governess, Miss Lethbridge, who had the management of it, and displaying on the premises the new title of "School Board for London."

Soon afterwards the present school in Cook's Ground was completed, being the first that was opened, and my father appointed Chairman.

Dr. Adam Littleton was appointed to Chelsea in 1670, and remained there till his death in 1694. He was the son of Thomas Littleton, Vicar of Hales Owen, and was born in 1627. He was educated at Westminster and at Christ Church, Oxford. In 1670 the King made him his Chaplain, and promised him at the same time the reversion of the Head-Mastership of Westminster School upon the death of Dr. Busby. He is said to have acquired a considerable fortune by his wife, but owing to his generosity and his zeal in the collection of books and manuscripts, his widow was left in poor circumstances. He is best known as the author of the Latin Dictionary, which was published in 1673, and reached its sixth edition in 1735, when it was practically superseded by Ainsworth's. For a fuller account of him and his works I may refer the reader to the "Dictionary of National Biography," whence I have taken the particulars given above.

Perhaps the most interesting record which he has left of his ministry here is a volume of sixty-one sermons, which he published in 1680, dedicating them to the inhabitants of the parish. "It having been grown," he says, "as fashionable a custom to bespeak sureties and undertakers for Books when they are exposed to the Publick, as it is for children when they are first presented in the Church ; and this Ceremony being much more necessary, when such Books, like those Children, give up their names to Christ, and are devoted to Sacred purposes : I was not long to debate with my self, whose Patronage I should implore for this mean Publication, or to whose favour I should commend and dedicate the labours of my Ministry, which I have exercised amongst you. For though several of these pieces were originally designed and calculated for other places and

occasions, of which possibly some few may seem so appropriate that they cannot well be thought in any sense to belong elsewhere : yet the rudiments and grounds even of such foreign discourses generally have been proposed and laid down here first, and afterwards filled up and fitted for those other places and occasions : so that upon this very account this volume of sermons devolves upon you as a natural right, it being a home-born, and, as I may say, a child of the Parish : and begs that acceptance at your hands, now it is printed and published, as it found in its private and more imperfect delivery.

“ And further, when I found myself concluded under an Engagement of being then made Publick, I could not but reflect upon those many obligations you have laid upon me, by your countenance to my unworthy person, your encouragement and approbation of my poor labour, and your candid excuse and acceptance of my weak performances in the exercise of my Ministry, ever since I was placed amongst you. All which did easily prevail with me in my circumstances to resolve it my duty to do something wherein I might testify to the World my thankfulness, and consequently, having at present nothing better at hand, to design this work, such as it is, and to erect it for a Monument and Pillar to my Gratitude.”

Five of these sermons had been separately published. One was entitled “ Samuel in Circuit, an Assize Sermon,” preached at Aylesbury, when Joseph Alston, of Chelsea, was High Sheriff. Two others are referred to elsewhere in these pages, being the funeral sermons of Lady Jane Cheyne and of Mrs. Alston.

Littleton was buried at Chelsea on 3 July 1694. A neat marble tablet, affixed to the north wall of the chancel, bears this inscription :

Hic prope Situm est Corpus
Doctissimi viri et de literis optime meriti
Adami Littleton S.T.P.
Capellani Regii Canonici
Westmonasteriensis
Hujus Ecclesiæ per spatium
XXIV annorum Rectoris

Omnibus hujus parochie incolis
 Unicé chari :
 é stirpe antiqua et venerabili oriundi
 Obiit ultimo die Junii 1694
 Anno ætatis suæ 67.

"Mrs. Susan Littleton, widow of Dr. Littleton," was buried in the Church on the 14th November, 1698. She was not, as has been stated, the daughter of Richard Guilford of Chelsea.

Dr. John King, who succeeded Littleton, was born at St. Colomb, in Cornwall, in 1652. He was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, but took the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Catharine Hall, in Cambridge, where his friend, Sir William Dawes, afterwards Archbishop of York, was Master. When he was first in orders he had the curacy of Bray, in Berkshire, where he became acquainted with his first wife, Anne, youngest daughter of William Durham. He married secondly, in 1690, Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Aris, of Adstone, in Northamptonshire, and widow of the Rev. John Eston, through whom he acquired the advowson of Pertenhall in Bedfordshire. He died at Chelsea on May 30, 1732, aged 80, and was buried at Pertenhall, where there is a monument to him and others of his family.

By his second wife he had seven children, four of whom were born at Chelsea. His youthful daughter Eulalia married Professor John Martyn, F.R.S. "Eulalia, daughter of Dr. John Martyn," was buried in the Church on 6 Feb. 1737-8.

"Mary Francis Martyn" was buried 7 July, 1746.

"Catharine Eulalia Martyn" bd. 12 July, 1747.

Bp. 3 Dec. 1697-8, Joseph, son of John King, Rector of this Parish and Elizabeth his wife, b. 13 and bp. 23 Jan.

Two of his sermons preached at Chelsea were published, one on the funeral of Sir Willoughby Chamberlain, 1695, the other entitled "The Divine Favour the best Alliance," preached on the 19th December 1701, "being the Fast Day appointed by His Majesty's Proclamation." He also published several controversial tracts,

His MS. book, from which I have quoted so freely, is entitled "An account of the Parish and Rectory of Chelsey in the County of Middlesex near London with an exact Terrier of the Glebe Land. Tithes, and other dues belonging to the said Rectory, by John King D.D., Rector of Chelsey, who was inducted to the same, November 1694." It was found in a cupboard at the Rectory by the late Rector, who shortly before his death handed it over to the Public Library.

Though by no means so complete as its title denotes, it contains a great deal of information that is exceedingly valuable, and, apart from the numerous quotations I have made from it, it has helped me in many ways in the pursuit of local knowledge. It appears to have been written from time to time between 1694 and 1712, commencing with his induction, as follows :

OF MY ENTRING INTO CHELSEY

" November 24, 1694. I was Inducted into the Rectory of Chelsey having had a Presentation from the Rt. Honourable Charles, Late Lord Viscount Cheyne. At the same time I rec^d that Presentation I gave another to the Rev^d Mr. Cheyne of the Rectory of Pertenhall in the County of Bedford.

" Nov. 25, 1694. I read the Common Prayer and Articles &c., and gave my assent and consent as the Law requires. I found the Parsonage in the following condition.

" The Barns, Houses, & Paling were miserably out of repair. The dilapidations were valued at 150/. But nothing was to be recovered, Dr. Littleton dying insolvent, and leaving his widow, who had brought him a good Fortune, in mean circumstances and an object of Compassion. So that instead of recovering any thing from Her towards the Repaires of the Houses, Barns, & Fences, I gave Mrs. Littleton freely the current Half year. She supplying the cure by some Friends and Neighbours.

" I find there is no Modus Decimandi upon any Lands in Chelsey but that Tithes are due in kinde from all grounds both sowed & mowed.

Dr. Littleton, and Dr. Wilkinson both took Tithes in kind, & sometimes let them to others.

"But upon account of the inconveniency of taking the Tithes of Turnips, Carrots, Beans, Pease & the like in kinde with which the Fields are for the most part sowed, Dr. Littleton and his Ten^t compounded with them from 3 years to 3 years at the rate of 6 shillings per acre payabl at Lady Day and Michaelmas, by the Half yearly payment of the 3s. for every acre at the said Feasts: Tho' Dr. Littleton designed to raise the prices: Because in Fulham they pay 8s. per acre for Wheat, and Barley.

"The Rectory of Chelsey is valued in the King's Books 13:06:08."

A little later is an interesting entry relating to Easter Offerings:

Instead of making an Easter Book, Dr. Wilkinson and Dr. Littleton took the Communion money with the Consent of the Parish: Dr. Littleton's book gives an account of it. But being willing to alter so singular a Custome I was willing in lieu thereof to accept a new of an Easter Book and accordingly made the following agreement with the Parish:

June 9, 1701. Being Monday in Whitsunweek at a general meeting of the Parishioners in the Parish Church of Chelsey in the County of Middlesex it is agreed between John King Doctor of Divinity and Rector of Chelsey aforesaid & the Churchwardens and ancient inhabitants of the said parish as follows:

Whereas for some time during the Incumbencies of Dr. Samuel Wilkinson and Dr. Adam Littleton late Rectors of Chelsey and also some time since instead of offerings at Easter and to avoid the trouble of making an Easter Book for collecting the said offerings due at Easter the Ministers with the consent of the Parishioners took the offerings made at the offertory to their own use which custome the said John King with the approbation and concurrence of the Parishioners desires to have altered (out of a tender regard not to give offence to any person by a singular and unusual practice) and is willing to accept as is accustomary of the offerings at Easter. Now we the Churchwardens and other antient Inhabitants of Chelsey aforesaid for themselves and other the Inhabitants as much as in them lyes doe consent and agree to and with the said Dr. John King that there is due and hereafter shall be deemed due to the said Dr. John King and his successors ministers of Chelsey from every Person of the age of sixteen years or upwards four pence for an offering yearly at the feast of Easter and y^t there is one due at Easter last past as witness our hands.

William Bromley Cadogan was the second son of Charles 3rd Baron Cadogan of Oakley by his wife Frances daughter of Henry Lord

Montfort. His grandfather, Charles, 2nd Baron Cadogan, had married Elizabeth daughter and co-heiress of Sir Hans Sloane, through whom the Manor of Chelsea came into the Cadogan family. He was born on the 22 January 1751, at Caversham Park near Reading.

The following particulars I give, for the most part verbatim, from a Memoir of Cadogan which appeared in the "Evangelical Magazine" (January 1798).

While he was still at Oxford, the Rectory of St. Giles', Reading, became vacant by the death of Mr. Talbot, whose popularity as an Evangelical preacher was at its height. This was one of the richest livings in the patronage of the Crown, and it happened that the Chancellor, Bathurst, was passing through Reading soon after Mr. Talbot's death. He therefore stopped at Caversham, and as Lord Cadogan was away from home, left a letter for him begging his "condescending acceptance" of the vicarage which he had just heard had become vacant, for his grandson whom he understood was in the Church. Cadogan was not then ordained, but the living was kept for him. The people of Reading heard of the appointment with great grief, but there was no remedy. Their only hope was that the new vicar, being of noble family, he would feel no disposition to do the duties himself, and that their curate continue in his place. With this view, a petition was drawn up, but Cadogan was at that time so inimical to the faith he afterwards preached, and the people who professed it, that he threw the petition into the fire. Had he been indifferent to all religion, he might have been less violent. But he was a Pharisee. His zeal was great, but not according to knowledge. Mrs. Talbot, however, the late vicar's widow, incurred his deepest resentment. She considered it her duty not to remove, as many had, from the spot where her husband's labours had been so signally blest, but to comfort and strengthen the numerous young converts who daily flocked to her for instruction. Like a true mother in Israel, her house was opened for religious exercises, and prayer was continually offered up under her roof for the conversion of Mr. Cadogan.

Highly offended at such conduct, he vehemently remonstrated. Various letters passed, but to all his bitter reproaches she returned

answers so full of meekness and wisdom, that at length he fell at the feet of accumulated kindness, humbled and subdued, and to the last moment of his life confessed that Mrs. Talbot's letters and example were the principal means of leading him to the saving knowledge of Christ.

Soon after his induction to Chelsea he began to expend a large sum of money on the Parsonage there, intending, as it was the genteel place in and near town, to make it his principal residence. Seeing the Sabbath shamefully violated in Chelsea, and finding the persons that he wished to reclaim would not attend his preaching, he determined to put the law in force against them, and went himself round the parish insisting on having the shops shut, and charging the parish officers to aid him. He found it, however, impossible to accomplish his design; nor could his rank secure him from the abuse and fury of the mob which his zeal had provoked; but his life was more than once endangered by the butchers and others whose traffic he endeavoured to corrupt. Another reform which he introduced was extempore preaching. But at Chelsea, where few of the inhabitants had been used to the Gospel, the alteration was not much approved. But what offended most was the substitution of a Tuesday evening lecture instead of the daily reading of prayers, which he restricted to Wednesdays and Fridays. Grievous complaints were made to the Bishop, but his lordship's interference was silenced by Cadogan's reply to it. The discontented were not so easily appeased. He strove hard to do them good, and his ministry at Chelsea was not without fruit, though it was not, in a comparative view, very successful. At Reading his message was differently received, and the esteem of the congregation bordered on veneration.

His family soon perceived that all hopes of his advancement to prelacy would be plucked up by the root unless they could dissuade or pervert him from his new line of conduct. Arguments were ineffectual, and allurements were adopted. He was almost entangled in the snares they laid, when, urged by the anguish of his mind, he suddenly escaped by a marriage, which for a long time produced an entire separation from his family.

It is a matter for our regret rather than for surprise, therefore, that he should have been buried at Reading, where there is a monument to him. He died on 18 January 1797.

In 1819 the Act was passed, referred to in my first chapter, by which the Old Church was relegated to the status of "the Parish Chapel," provision being made for the nomination of an "Assistant Minister" by the Rector, for the approval of the Patron, and for the payment of such yearly salary "not being less than £250" as the Trustees under the Act should think fit. This stipend is not charged on the Rectory, whose 23 odd acres of glebe have somewhat increased in value since Dr King's time, when they were "sowed with Turnips, Carrots, Beans, Pease and the like," but on the pew rents and rates authorised by the Act.

The first Incumbent appointed under the Act was the Rev: John Rush, LL.B., curate to the then Rector, Mr. Wellesley. He died on the 4th June, 1855, aged 85, and is commemorated by a tablet in the chancel. There are several other tablets to members of his family. He was succeeded by my father, the present Incumbent, the Rev. Robert Henry Davies.

CHAPTER XII

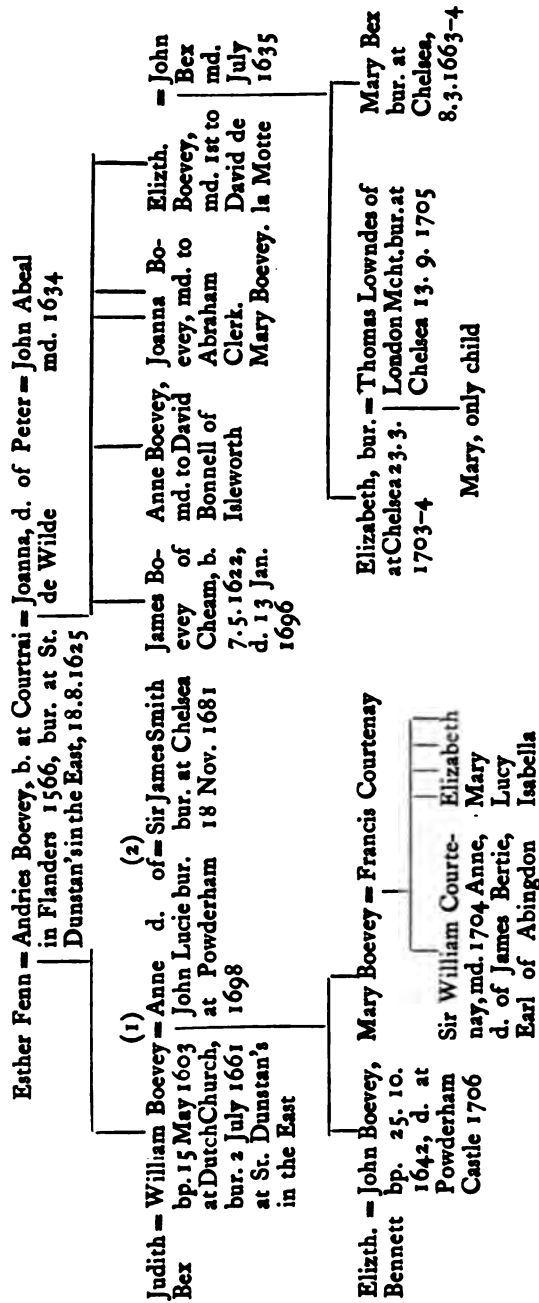
LITTLE CHELSEA

IN the Kensington Parish Register there is an entry, as early as the 4th September 1618, of the baptism of an inhabitant of "Lytle Chelsey in this p'sh"; the name being applied indifferently to a few houses on either side of the Fulham Road, which divides the two parishes, between Park Walk and Gunter's Grove.

The principal house at Little Chelsea was that whose site is now occupied by part of the Workhouses of St. George's Hanover Square, and of which an interesting account is given in Croker's "Walk from London to Fulham." In the pavement of the garden, says Croker, was a stone inscribed with the date 1635; being that of the year following its acquisition by the Boevey family, in whose possession it remained until it was purchased by the Earl of Shaftesbury at the close of the seventeenth century. From a decree in Chancery in 1698 (Roll 1373), and from Mr. A. G. Crawley Boevey's recent book entitled "The Perverse Widow" (Longmans, 1898), I have obtained most of the data following.

Andries Boeve, of Courtrai, in Flanders, born in 1566, appears to have been brought to England in 1573, to escape from Alva's persecution. Being settled in the parish of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, he married for his second wife Joanna, daughter of Peter de Wilde, who, in 1634, was re-married to John Abell, or Abeel. "Having a very great estate in money and goods to herself by Andrew Boevey [I adopt the English spelling], the said Joanna being [about] to marry with one Joh: Abell, it was agreed that she should have some great part of her said money goods and personal estate at her own disposition,

PEDIGREE OF BOEVEY OF LITTLE CHELSEA



for the better support of her only son and heir James Boevey, and of her four daughters," and £1090 was accordingly invested in the purchase of two houses in Chelsea, with garden plots belonging of two and three acres respectively, which were settled on Joanna, to her separate use, to appoint as she thought fit, by an indenture dated 20th October 1634.

The recital of the fact that she spent £4000 on improving the premises may account for the stone dated 1635: the probability being that one of the two houses was rebuilt on a much larger scale. Its proportions, as shown in Kip's view of Beaufort House, are by no means humble; and, indeed, suggest the probability of its having been the asylum at Little Chelsea to which Sir Francis Kynaston retired, in 1636, with his "Museum Minervæ," to escape the Plague, after his efforts, so nearly successful, to obtain Chelsea College for the purpose. I know of no other house there in which, as is suggested in Kynaston's petition, "the noblemen and gentlemen who were his pupils might continue with safety their discipline in art and arms."

In 1644 Joanna Abell died, having appointed the Chelsea property, not to her son James Boevey, but to his four sisters, namely, Joanna Clerk, widow, Mary Boevey, spinster, Elizabeth Lemott, widow (afterwards married to John Bex), and Anne, wife of David Bonnell.

Now one of the trustees of Joanna's settlement was her step-son William Boevey, and he, in September 1658, purchased the property from his half-sisters. James Boevey, disputing his mother's appointment, had already, in 1654, submitted to an award by arbitration on his claims; but this purchase by his half-brother seems to have incited him to further proceedings, on the ground that it was a breach of trust. It was not, however, until 1698 that the matter was finally settled, and James' widow (for he died in 1696) was awarded one-fifth of the estate.

Meanwhile William Boevey continued in possession until his death, which happened on 24th January 1661-2, and his widow after him. She was Anne, the daughter of John Lucie by his wife Anne Corselis, and from the following letter, which was written by her (in Dutch) on the 29th of the same month to the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Dutch Church in Austin Friars, seems to have been a lady of some importance:

"When I came home this evening to Chelsy I heard with surprise that you had elected Jacob Willemsen as Deacon, and that he had accepted the offer under great pressure on condition that I was to give my consent. I am certain that if my late husband were still alive you would not have asked Willemsen to accept the office without his consent, which he would not have given, nor could I give it, as Willemsen is under an obligation to me, and I cannot spare him in my business, which depends entirely on him. Hence I request you to discharge him and elect another in his place."

On the 15th September 1663 she married for her second husband Sir James Smith (Vicar General's Licence), who was buried at Chelsea on the 18th November 1681. It appears from Dr. King's MS. that Lady Smith was still living in Chelsea in 1695. She died on 11th July 1698 and was buried at Powderham in Devonshire. By her will, which was dated 1693, but not proved until 2nd August 1701 (P.C.C. 117 Dyer) she appointed her daughter Mary, wife of Francis Courtenay, executrix, and made her residuary legatee.

Francis Courtenay was then the eldest surviving son of Sir William Courtenay of Powderham Castle, but died during his father's lifetime. He was buried at Chelsea on the 12th May 1699. His son, Sir William, married, in 1704, Anne, daughter of James Earl of Abingdon, who was part owner of Danvers House in right of his wife Eleanor Lee (see chap. viii.). The following are some other entries in the Parish Register relating to the Courtenays :

BURIED.

1665. June 4. "Mr. Edward Cortney."

1670. July 27. "William Courtney, Esq., eldest son of Sir William Courtney, Knt. and Bart., of Poudram Castle in the county of Devon."

1699. May 12. Francis, son of Sir William Courtney.

1700. May 30. "Mrs. Mary Courtney, wife of Peter Courtney Gent."

1705. Sept. 2. "Mary Daughtr of Sir Wm. Courteny Bart in Chancell."

1706-7. Feb. 26. "James son of Sr Wm. Courteney Barnt of Powderham Castle, Devon."

1706-7. March 23. William son of [the same].

1715-6. Jan. 21. "Mrs. Mary Courtney from London."

1739. May 31. Mrs. Mary Courtenay.

In 1698 a Royal Commission was issued to Thomas Franklin, William Munden, Edward Chamberlayne and Bryan Wade [all well-known inhabitants of Chelsea] to apportion one-fifth of the land to Margaret, widow of James Boevey. Their report was as follows :

"We entered on the messuage and lands on Monday, 25th July 1698, and after several meetings and adjournments, on 30th July we divided the premises. . . . One-fifth containing the messuage or tenement with the appurtenances and the outhouses thereto belonging on the east side next to Mr. Wymondsol's houses, Commonly called or known by the name of Sir James Smith's house now in possession of Doctor Thorold and so much of the great garden behind the said house as hereafter mentioned, viz : 125 feet in the clear from East to West and the whole depth of the ground as it is now enclose at the lower end by a brick wall containing 521 feet in the clear from the garden wall of Mr. Lownes North to the end of the garden wall south as the same is now staked out by us. . . ."

"Mr. Lownes' " house stood to the west of Sir James Smith's, and was probably the other of the two houses purchased for Joanna Abell, seeing that Thomas Lowndes, its owner, was the husband of Elizabeth Bex, daughter of Elizabeth, one of James Boevey's four sisters. Dr. King's MS. mentions "Mr. Lounds' great house," and "Mr. Lounds' little house now Mr. Humphreys." Thomas Lowndes was buried at Chelsea on the 13th Sept. 1705, his wife on the 23rd March 1703-4, and her sister Mary Bex on the 8th March 1663-4. The house descended to Mary, Lowndes' only child ; but further than this I need not here trace its history.

On the east side of Shaftesbury House, near the corner of Park

Walk, stood a mansion described by Bowack as "a regular handsome house, with a noble courtyard, and good gardens, built by Mr. Mart, now [1705] inhabited by Sir John Cope, Bart., a gentleman of an ancient and honourable family, who formerly was eminent in the service of his country abroad, and for many years of late in Parliament, till he voluntarily retired here, to end his days in peace."

Gallen, son of Sir John Cope, Bart., was baptized at Chelsea on the 19th June, 1690, and John, son of Captain Gallen Cope, on the 8th Feb. 1720.

Mr. Mart had purchased other land in Chelsea, in respect of which he claimed right of common.

Within a couple of years of James Boevey's award, Sir James Smith's house was purchased by Anthony, third Earl of Shaftesbury; but before carrying its history any further I will speak of some other records of Little Chelsea during the latter half of the seventeenth century which are contained in the Church.

Dr. Baldwin Hamey, whose name I have so often had occasion to mention in my earlier chapters, is said to have retired to Little Chelsea the year before the Fire of London, thereby saving his library. But in his will he asks his friends and relations "to call to mind my sad loss by London's dreadful fire, and to consider my home-confining malady ever since, and to believe that those two reasons only and truly have made the number of my legatees the fewer and my legacies the smaller than I formerly intended." And as he only leaves two sets of books to the College of Physicians, I suspect that the fire was in reality the occasion of his retirement, and that one or other of the Boeveys' houses was again the place of refuge: for Hamey was of Dutch, or Flemish, parents. It is certain that he lived on the Chelsea side, for he describes himself in his will as "a parishoner of St. Lukes Chelsey," and his name occurs in a list of persons from whom dues are owing to the Manor (Faulkner, vol. ii. p. 158). But he makes no mention of any property in Chelsea in disposing specifically of his various estates.

Hamey was born in London in 1600. His father was Baldwin Hamey, also a well-known physician, and his mother a daughter, and

presumably heiress, of Jacques Oyles, a London merchant of Belgian extraction ("Visitation of London," 1634, Harl. Soc. Vol. 15).

After studying in Leyden, Paris, Montpelier and Padua he was incorporated Doctor of Divinity at Oxford, and was admitted Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1633, where he was sometime censor, treasurer, and registrar. He was one of the greatest benefactors to the College, giving a large sum towards the rebuilding after the fire. The oak panelling of the Censors' room in the present building, carved with his arms, is a part of that with which he furnished the dining-room of the old College. Upon the wall of the Secretary's room is hung a survey of the Ashlin estates at Chipping Ongar in Essex, which he gave to the College in 1672.

In the College Library are a bust and a portrait of him, the latter by Snelling; and also a memoir of his life, in manuscript, compiled by his nephew, the younger Ralph Palmer. Another portrait of him, at the age of thirty-eight, painted by Vandyck, is mentioned in one of Ralph Palmer's letters (Ingilby MSS.), of which a copy was sent by the writer to his friend Edward Butler [see chap. xv.] at Magdalen College, Oxford, "to be placed among the other worthies of the University." The Bursar informs me that this picture, inscribed "Seculi decus," and dated 1638, has recently been placed in the Bodleian Picture Gallery.

Many interesting particulars taken from Palmer's manuscript have been included in the notice of Hamey in the "Dictionary of National Biography." Of his benefactions to the Church I have already made mention in my first two chapters, as well as of the singular fact that it is to him, as much as to Dr. Adam Littleton, that the parish owes its designation of "St. Luke's."

Palmer says that he desired to be buried in the middle aisle of the Church, under the chancel arch, wrapped in linen, without a coffin, at a depth of ten feet below the pavement; and with no monument but a black marble slab bearing his name, the date of his birth, and the sentence, "When the breath goeth out of a man, he returneth unto his earth." I find no such directions in his will, but only a desire that his body should be laid by his brother at Chelsea, "and decently

brought thither by torchlight soone after sunset be it summer or winter with the Company of such gentlemen of the parish and neighbourhood as my executor shall see fit and with no longer solemnity at church than what is ordained in the Book of Common Prayer for the burial of the dead."

The slab which covers him is inscribed :

"The Return of Baldwin Hamey Doctor of Physick on the 14th of May being Whitsunday in the year of our Lord 1676."

Upon the South face of the Northern pier of the Chancel Arch is fixed the monument erected by Palmer, probably in the year 1716. It is a large tablet of polished black marble, upon which are cut the following inscription and arms :

In ipso Ecclesiae Adyto
Sub lato marmore Iuxta deponitur
BALDUNIUS HAMEY M.D.
Academiae Lugdunensis Batavorum
Oxoniensis Anglorum
Collegiique Medicorum Londinensis
Deliciae Decus et Desiderium
Eruditorum olim Asylum
Facultatis Lumen
Vera Encyclopaedia
Ex animo
Phil-Evangelicus Medicus
Anglus

Radulphus Palmer
Ar. e Soc : Med. Templi.
Pronepos pie posuit

Obiit An^o Aetat^o 76
Restauratae Salutis
MDCLXXVI

Arms.—Gules, a bar, or : in chief a roebuck current of the second in base 3 mullets of six points argent. *Motto.*—Sitiendo. *Crest.*—A demi-hart.

The following is the substance of this inscription :—

In the Chancel, under a large slab of marble lies Baldwin Hamey M.D. member of the Universities of Leyden in Holland and Oxford in England, and a beloved and regretted benefactor of the College of Physicians, being resorted to by the learned as a light to the profession. He was an Englishman, a Doctor, and a lover of the Gospel.

He died at the age of 76 in the year of grace 1676. Ralph Palmer Esq: of the Inner Temple, his great-nephew, affectionately erected this monument to him.

On the same pillar is a small tablet of brass thus inscribed :

THIS MONUMENT OF BALDWIN HAMEY M.D. HAVING
BECOME DEFACED THROUGH AGE WAS RESTORED BY
THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS OF LONDON A.D.
1886 IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF THEIR
MUNIFICENT BENEFACTOR.

Underneath Hamey's monument is a similar one, of smaller size, bearing the following inscription and arms :—

To the memory of RALPH PALMER of Little Chelsea Esq and ALICE His wife. He was a near Relation to Dr. HAMEY and after his example a kind benefactor to this Church He died Feb 1st 1715 aged 80 Years she the 14th Sept 1708 aged 75 and were here interr'd.

Arms.—(1) Quarterly 1 & 4 argent 3 palmers' staves sable (Palmer)
2. Hamey, as above. 3. argent a fesse sable ; in Chief a demi lion rampant gules ; in base 3 mullets of 6 points argent (Oyles).

(2) Or, a chevron argent between 3 boars' heads erased of the second.

Ralph Palmer, the elder, was the son of Andrew Palmer, of Roydon, in Essex, by his wife Elizabeth, Hamey's only sister (Berry's "Visitation of Essex," 1634). At Claydon House there is a small MS. book bound in vellum, which contains a quantity of family data recorded by John Verney (of whom presently). Amongst which I find that Palmer was born on the 6th April 1636, and his wife, Alice

White, on the 10th Nov. 1633. They were married on the 23rd May 1661, and their first-born child was Hamey Palmer, born 21st May 1663, and baptized on the 28th, Dr. Baldwin Hamey being one of the gossips. The child died on the 19th June following. Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, was born on the 5th June 1664, and baptized on the 16th, the gossips being Dr. Hamey ; Elizabeth, wife of Matthew Palmer ; and Hester Cradock.

The baptisms of his other children are thus recorded in the Kensington Register :

1666. Baldwin and Hamey sons of Mr Ralph and Mrs Alice Palmer were borne at Little Chelsey ye 19th day of July being Thursday about foure a clocke in the afternoon and baptised the 24 of the same month.

1667-8. Ralph Son of Ralph Palmer Gent and Mrs Alice his wife was borne at Little Chelsey in this Parish ye 14th of January and baptised ye 16th.

1668-9. Cornelia daughter of Ralph Palmer gent and Mrs Alice his wife was borne at Little Chelsey in this parish ye 27th January about 6 of ye clocke in ye morning and was baptised ye same day.

1670. Alice daughter of Ralph Palmer gent and Mrs Alice his wif was borne ye nine and twentieth day of December being Thursday at six of the clock in the morning and baptised that day.

I am indebted to Lady Verney for her kind assistance in discovering, and to Sir Edmund Verney for his permission to publish, a great many interesting particulars relating to the Palmers, which are recorded in the family papers at Claydon House. These are principally contained in the correspondence between Sir Ralph Verney and his second son, John, who was carrying on business as a Levant merchant in London, concerning the marriage of the latter with Elizabeth Palmer. It appears that Ralph Palmer's brother-in-law, Mr. White, was residing at Steeple Claydon, and that when Elizabeth Palmer was staying there, Sir Ralph first entertained the idea. "This day," he writes to his son, on the 30th October 1679, "the young lady went towards London, and yeasterday your Brother and my nephew went to visit Mr. White's daughter thats handsome. . . . Jack told me how he liked them all, and I find he is not fond of — [Elizabeth Palmer], but sayes she is just such a bewty as Mrs. Sheares, that is, no bewty ; but a wife-able

woeman. When her uncle goes upp to London, I will send him to you, that you may see her with him at Church, or otherwise as you think best ; but if you have noe minde to see her, tell me, and I will put it off quickly, therefore please your selfe. . . .”

On the 3rd November he writes again from Claydon : “I have just now given Mr. Joseph Churchill a noate of your Lodging, where he hopes to attend you on Wednesday next. . . . That morning hee goes from hence to Chelsey, to his kinsman’s house, where the young lady now is with her Father. He will tell you how they stand affected, as to the marriage of their daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer ; also and if they are willing to treat (as I beleve they will be), hee will attend you on Thursday thether, that you may see her, and she see you, and then if yee like, you may proceed ; if not, there is noe hurt donn. Your best way is to hire a coach, for if you borrow a friends coach, twill bee a means to have it discovered, and soe you may tell Mr. Churchill. Her portion is reported 6000/, but I doubt twill bee but 4000/ . . . you must use him [Churchill] kindly, and let him pay nothing, hee is a sober man, and expects nothing, but civility. Pray God direct you in this affaire, to do what is for his Glory and your Good.”

On the 7th John writes to his father, “This will be deliver’d you by Mr. Joseph Churchill, with whom I went after dinner to Little Chelsey, where we staid about an houre ; for my part I am very well satisfied of all persons there, soe that now twill all remain quiett till your coming to Town. Mr. Palmer I take to be an open Ingenious person of a Mechanick humour, being a neate contriver, and keeps his house and gardens very well. . . .”

On the 10th Sir Ralph writes that Mr. Churchill has come in to see him, “And told me what passed between him and you ; and of your going to Little Chelsey togeather, and of your accidentall meeting with the Young Lady, the next day, and how she liked you very well that day, much better than she did in the evening the day before. And that you attended her to a Play ; and then hee left yee togeather. Now what is to bee farther donn, I must leave to your owne discreation, who must needes be better able to

judg, being uppon the place, than any man doe at this distance. For my part I thinke you may doe well to visit her somtimes, least she should thinke you neglect her ; and you may tell her, you would attend her oftner, if her Father would not be displeased at you coming. By her answeere to this you will easily see how she stands affected to your coming and by your going to her you will better find out her Humour, and severall other things that are fit to be knowne, before you proceed too farre."

On the 17th John writes again to his father, "on Friday in ye afternoon I took Coach and went to Chelsey (but had I knowne who was there I'de not have gone) there I found Mr. White and one of his daughters, soe to avoyd theire Jealousies I had not one word of pticular talke with ye Young Lady, Mr. White being allways at my Elboe ; I suppose he did it out of Civilitye, but I wisht his Ceremony and him too at Steeple Claydon : Mr. Palmer called for wyne and sweetmeates, and was very kind. Between 4 and 5 I took leave of 'em."

The question of settlements now began to be discussed, and before it was ended came very near to upsetting the marriage.

John Verney's account of his first interview with Palmer on the subject is very interesting. On the 4th December he writes to his father, "I was yesterday at Little Chelsey, but ye Young Lady Mother and Aunt were gone to London, soe being alone with Mr. P. he told me had receaved a letter from his nephew Cha : where in was writt as you already knowe. He asked me if ye place [Waseing in Berkshire, which Sir Ralph proposed to settle] was well wooded. I told him 'twas. He told me he was advised there was 3 or 4000 Ls. worth of wood on it, and asked me if not. I told him I thought there was not so much for I did thinke he put that question twice to me to try whether I was given to lyeing, but both answers I returned him alike. . . . He told me had been profferd Gentlemen of 1000 Ls p. anm but he had refus'd 'em because they could do nothing but hunt and Drinke, but he confest he would willingly have a settlement of 500L p. anm. for his Daughter. . . . He talkt of his Daughters having 3000Ls., but I took no hold of that, and that it was his care to be very circumspect in the marrying of her : for me

he said he liked very well and had heard a very good character of me. . . ."

On the 10th December John paid another visit to Chelsea. "I found much civility from them, and truly I thinke the Young Lady is very good natured person, as a Gentleman of Chelsey told me she was : she playes on the Espinetto and Organs and Gittarr and danceth very well. I don't thinke she's above 18 years old,* for once in discourse her mother told me she was married nineteen years agoe. I shall easily find out one time or another when Dr Amy [Hamey] died. The first time I was there Mr P shewd me his garden and other out parts of his house : yesterday he carryd me about within which is all very gentile and neate."

A little later John writes, "the young Lady I like well enough, but not soe much in love withall as to the Consent to unreasonable terms." By the 24th January, however, he had taken fire and sends his first love letter, which was followed, two days later, by another both amorous and diplomatic :

DEAR MADAM,

Imagining that I should not be admitted to see you or that I could not express my mind freely to you, made me put pen to paper to assure you that noe man living can love and honour you more than unfortunate me : But such is the severeness of my Fate, Your Good Father stands on such very hard terms that no reasonable man in England can yeild to, and because you should knowe the truth and judge of it Ile tell you in short that my own gotten Estate in money is Six Thousand Pounds and my father gives me so much land (with the wood on it) as is worth six thousand pounds more, besides a present of 200Ls to furnish a chamber : To which your worthy Father consents to give with your Dearest Selfe three thousand Pounds : so that altogether the estate would be fifteen thousand pounds. Out of which we Offer (as your Father demands) to settle a Joynture of 400Ls a yeare and all other settlements on Children as may be judged reasonable. Thus far both our fathers are agreed. But over-byast

* She was only fifteen.

Mr. Palmer would have us settle not onely the joynture for your life, but he would provide for God knowes whom by settling the Inheritance of 400*£*s. a yeare on his daughters heires, in Case I dye first without Children. This is so unreasonable that all indifferent men that hear the whole truth doe extreamly wonder at it, unless I had been worth but 3 or 4000*£*s and he would have given you ten or twelve thousand. But I suppose he casts this bone out of the abundance of his love towards you, as being unwilling to part from so beloved a Creature : Madam, let me perish if I tell you a lye in sayeing that my whole life never mett with any Cross that went so much to my heart, and hath given me so much trouble and sorrow as this hath done : And before I end I have one favour to begg of you, that is, a lock of your Delicate haire, which if you will oblige me with, Pray seale it up and intreat Mrs. J. White (whose servant I am) to inclose it to Mr. Jos: Churchill ordering him to send it to me, who am soe wretched I fear to expect a line from your sweet hand. And now, Dearest Madam, I must (with heart breaking) bidd you for ever adieu : And I pray God that all the felicityes that at any time attend the happiest of your sex may be heaped on you. May you live plentifully many contented yeares in this world, and have Eternall blessings in the next, these be the hearty Prayers of Madam,

Your Ladish^{ps} Passionate Lover
and most unfortunate Servant
JOHN VERNEY.

Mrs. Nicholas, a niece and god-daughter of Sir Ralph, contributes a very agreeable picture of Elizabeth Palmer, in a letter to him dated 19th April 1680. "Dear Parent," she writes, "I can doe no less than obey yr commands wch was yt when I had bin at Chelse I shuld send you word. I went as I entended, on friday and wt out aney flattery I found a woman so far beyond my expectation yt I was mutch p^lsed to finde my self so deceived. I doe veryly beleve she will make a very good wife and a very good Daughter in Law truly I doe veryly beleve yr hole family may be very hapy in her for she semeth to be very good natured and I beleve she hath a very

great kindenes to yr sun and I heartily wish and pray so may prove yt in yr family w^o I doe beleve she will and yt is a great comfort."

This opinion seems to have been conveyed to John, and also another, not quite as favourable, from another family source. "In answer to what you say of ye Character of my Mrs," he writes to his father, "My Cousin Nicholas through friendship to your selfe and me may be a little blinded. But another pson was pleased to tell one that Mrs E. P. had ferrett eyes (which I think she hath not) and that her face was full of pimples (to use her owne expression) that there were a thousand in it. Its a thing that any one may have after a long ageu, but I neve did see but three in my life and them I took particular notice of. And much more such stuff, which had she [the "pson"] any reall love for me she need not have taken notice of the worst to a stranger as she did to Mrs. Gape ; but the end is like the beginning spightfull."

By the middle of May, everything was in train for the wedding. On the 20th John writes to his father : "I find Mr P will not make it a very private wedding, for he thinks to have us married at Chelsey Church about six in the morning and after we are gott to his house he cares not who knowes it, soe that then to be sure all theire neighbouring acquaintance of both ye Chelseys will come in. I did all along feare he would carry it soe, which made me provide my selfe with good clothes, and store of Trimming on one sute to furnish the Compa with favours which I think are ninety odd knotts on my wedding sute." And again on the 22nd, "I have gotten all things ready, so much as a Gold ring and a License . . . so that if they please the wedding may be next Thrusday . . . I have proposed to them a way to have our marriage privately consumated next Thursday thus, to be married (by Dr. Littleton) at Westminster Abbey (where he's a prebend) or some other Church in London, then to dine with me in the City (at ye Romer) and after dinner to visit my Lady Gardiner, whence to be gone about 4, 5 or 6 a clock, then goe eate a Tart at ye Treating house by Knightsbridge, and soe goe home together about nine at night or a little after when all theire neighbours may be within theire doores . . . And if it can be kept private

within their own house till Sunday, we'll own it publick by our Clothes &c at Chelsey Church."

The 27th of May was the date actually decided on. "I am now to acquaint you," John writes to his father, "that I am this morning going to Westminster Abbey to meet Mrs Eli : Pal : where after Prayers we designe to be married in Henry the 7th Chappell by Dr. Adam Littleton, very privately in our old Clothes : none will be at it but her Father Mother brother and Aunt J. White : from thence we goe to the Rummer in Soper Lane whether I invite them to dinner. . ."

On the 28th the bride and bridegroom send this joint letter to Sir Ralph :

S^r Yesterday (according to what was then wrote you) we performed that grand concern which now intitles us both to be your Children, and wee are very certain to receive the blessings which our good parents have so often requested of God Almighty, for which wee hope our constant duty and obedience to them will in some small measure repay them this grand debt. Mr. Palmer and Mrs. Palmer our Father and Mother present their service to you : and we beseech you to present ours to our Brother and sister, which will be a farther addition of favours to

S^r Your most obedient Children,

JOHN & ELIZA VERNEY.

The marriage was duly recorded in the Westminster Abbey Register, and also by the following entry in the Chelsea Register :

"1680. Mr. — Vernon and Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer were married" [no date].

The bill of the wedding dinner is still at Claydon. It amounts to £3 17s. 0d., and comprises "Beer-ayle, wine, Orings, a dish of fish, 2 Geese, 4 fatt chikkens, 2 Rabets, A dish of peese, 8 hartey chokes, a dish of strabreys, a dish of chereys." And on 9th June, Verney sends a box of wedding souvenirs to his family including "one of my wife's wedding garters for Master Ralph as one of her Bridemen."

"Child as she was," Lady Verney writes in her recent edition of

the Verney MSS., "Mrs. John Verney at once took the place in the family which the eldest son's wife had never been able to fill. She visited the school-boys of the family at Harrow, and mothered the tall nephews at East Claydon of her own age, as she did her undergraduate brother at Oxford, who poured out to her all his confidences, and was proud to entertain her in his rooms at Trinity College. To her forlorn niece, Molly Verney, she was specially kind . . . looking after her clothes and her studies at Mrs. Priest's genteel establishment for young ladies at Chelsea . . . her gracious kindness makes her home 'over against the coffee-house in Hatton St., Hatton Gardens,' a happy meeting-place for all the young ones of the family. She packs the coach to its utmost capacity to take the Stewkeley girls to the 'grand Ball at Chelsey School' where Molly Verney and Betty Denton distinguish themselves as dancers. . . ."

"Amongst Sir Ralph's child friends John's four little ones—Elizabeth (b. 1681), Mary (b. 1682), Ralph (b. 1683), and Margaret (b. 1685)—held a very special place in his heart."

"Elizh. Verney died in London, May 20, 1686, in the twenty-second year of her age. When John buried his 'Dearest Joy' in the vault at Middle Claydon, he buried with her the happiest chapter of his life."

At Claydon House there is a fine portrait of her by Sir Peter Lely, and a tablet to her memory in Middle Claydon Church.

Cornelia, the second daughter of the elder Ralph Palmer, married Sir Thomas Dunk, who was Sheriff of London in 1709. He left his estate (G. E. C.'s Complete Peerage), amounting to £100,000, to William Richards, with remainder to his issue in tail, on condition that all who so took should adopt the name of Dunk. Lady Dunk survived her father, being mentioned in his will as the legatee of his silver syllabub plate. She was buried at Chelsea on the 24th May 1717.

Alice, the third daughter, also survived her father. Of the twins, Baldwin and Hamey, I find that Baldwin was buried at Kensington on the 10th August 1666.

The eldest son Ralph was sole devisee under his father's will, and he continued to live at Little Chelsea for some time. Many of his letters are amongst the Verney and Ingilby Papers. He married, in the year 1700, Catherine Ernle (Chester's "London Marriage Licences"), whose death is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1731. As also that of Ralph Palmer at Roydon, in 1755, whom I take to be her husband.

To return to Shaftesbury House. Margaret Boevey, having secured the award of Lady Smith's house, was not so long in disposing of the property as her husband had been in fighting for it; for within two years of the decree it was in the possession of Anthony, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, whose name, says Faulkner, first appears in the rate-book in 1700. In Mr. L'Estrange's charming account of Shaftesbury at Little Chelsea ("Village of Palaces", vol. ii. ch. iii.), there is recorded an episode which, though less happy than that just related, is perhaps of equal interest, and which appears to have originated in the Church itself. "Chance," writes Shaftesbury, "threw into my neighbourhood [at Chelsea] a lady whom I never saw till the Sunday before last, who is in every respect that person I had formed a picture of in my imagination." She was the daughter of a great nobleman, whom Mr. L'Estrange surmises to be Lord Carberry, who had built a house near the Royal Hospital. The great nobleman, however, would not consent, and after a year or more of suspense, he married another lady (1709), and wrote to a friend saying that verily he thought himself as happy a man as ever. Shortly after, he sold his house to Narcissus Luttrell. The conveyance is dated 29 and 30 June 1710, and describes a house, plot of ground, courtyard, great garden and little garden containing about three acres, late in the possession of Dame Anne Smith or of Doctor Thorold (Middlesex Register, 1710, Bk. 3, Nos. 40 and 41).

"About the beginning of July last," wrote Hearne, the antiquary (Diary 1732), "after a tedious indisposition died Narcissus Luttrell, Esq. of Little Chelsea, a gentleman possessed of a plentiful estate, and descended from the ancient family of the Luttrells, of Dunstan Castle in Somersetshire . . . he was well known for his

curious library ; especially for the number and scarcity of English History and Antiquities but though he was so curious and diligent in collecting and amassing together, yet he affected to live so private as hardly to be known in private, and yet for all that he must be attended to his grave by judges and the first in his profession in the law to whom (such was the sordidness of his temper) he would not have given a meal of meat in his life . . . he hath left a son who is likewise a bookish man."

There is a note of envy in this; attributable perhaps to antiquarian rivalry, for the private journal of Narcissus Luttrell affords abundant evidence that he was by no means an unsociable recluse during his life at Chelsea. He is best known for his "Brief Narration of State Affairs," though both Dibdin, and Sir Walter Scott (in his preface to Dryden's Works) have some interesting notes concerning him as a bibliophile. But besides his political diary, he kept while at Chelsea a minute account of his daily occupations. This is preserved in a small manuscript volume at the British Museum, written in English, but in the Greek character. It contains little but the trivial round of his life at Chelsea, but some of the entries, of which the following are specimens, are not without their interest.

"5 Nov. 1722. Rose this morning at 8. So to prayers in Chamber. Then down and into garden. Drest after and breakfasted at 10, and being gunpowder treason day I would have gone to Church (Χρη). But the rain hindered me so did odd things at home, and in the evening I went not out. To dinner after 3. So into the garden and had a tree dug up. Did business all the evening in the parlor. Supt about 9 up into Chamber after 12. So to prayers and to bed at 2."

"30 Nov. After Church walkt up Church Lane. . . and son and I walkt round the park wall to view the roads, so home after one: Mr. Clark the upholsterer came . . . and I paid him for putting my pew in mourning."

"Dec. 2. It being rainy, son and I went with Will Hooper in his Coach to Chelsey Church. Mr. Stephens the Bishop of Winchester's Chaplain preacht. . . . We went again to same Church in that Coach, Mr. Shorthose preacht. . . . Called to see Dr. King [the Rector] and

staid with him and drank there. So returned home in same Coach, and Dick drove us. So we undrest and did odd things."

"9 Nov. Son and I walkt to Chelsea Church where Dr. King read prayers. . . . walkt down to the vestry room where we met Lowfield and Mr. Budget, and we did parish business till 6 when Mr. Budget went to the funeral of Mr. Steward."

"11 Nov. (Sunday). . . . Son and I with Seward and Mr. Stockwell walked home to my house and I treated them with green tea, when Sir Richard Gough and his new son-in-law Mr. Bouchier came in. They drank wine and tea with us and in an hour they went away. Stockwell and Seward went away about 8. I undrest and did odd things."

The following, under various dates, are of some local interest.

"My nephew Billy Wynne came to see us. We drank punch &c. he staid till 8 and was merry. I sent Smith home with him." "Down to the Magpie in Chelsea where was a meeting of justices &c. met about 8 or 10 of us . . . we dined there most of us about 3 and broke up about 5, and the High Constable Jones and I staid till near 6. So I walked home and undrest and did odd things." "Home after seven and undrest and read a sermon to family."

"Son and I walked to Chelsea by 7. So went to the Club at the Northumberland Arms where we were 10 in number, viz., Lord Sutherland, Mr. Cardonel, and his son Mansy, myself and son, Captain Culliford and his son, Mr. Guigur, Captain La Touch &c. broke up about 9."

"Walked to Salter's Coffee house [after Church on Sunday] where sat and talked and drunk coffee till 6. Saw several I knew." The latter place was of course "Don Saltero's" on Cheyne Walk. I have never heard of the Northumberland Arms before.

There are also mentioned his son Richard, "my sister Fermanagh," "my nephew Faures," "my nephew and niece Mead with their daughter Sally," "niece Bab Baker," "niece Kate Wynne," and "my nephew Billy Wynne." This last was William Wynne, Serjeant-at-Law, son of Owen Wynne, LL.D., Under Secretary of State, by Luttrell's sister Dorothy, who succeeded to Shaftesbury House.

The following entries of burials occur in the Parish Register :—

- 1722, July 15. Mrs. Sarah Luttrell.
- 1727, Narcissus, son of Narcissus Luttrell.
- 1732, July 6. Narcissus Luttrell, Esq.
- 1740, Sept. 9. Francis Luttrell.
- 1745, Oct. 5. Mrs. Mary Luttrell.
- 1749, June 9. Francis Luttrell, Esq.

Edward Wynne, son of William, died at Chelsea in 1784, and was succeeded by his brother, the Rev. Luttrell Wynne, D.D., who sold the house, and Luttrell's famous collection of books, in 1786.

CHAPTER XIII

VARIOUS MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCH

ALTHOUGH the more remarkable monuments have been described in the foregoing chapters, there are still a score or so that are worthy of more than passing notice. It will be convenient to take these in order of their date, before enumerating the less interesting inscriptions in various parts of the Church.

The first, in this order, is one that has hitherto escaped notice in any account of the Church, and my attention was first directed to it by the late Mr. Surrey, who carried out several of the repairs that have been undertaken during my Father's Incumbency. It is a slab of stone, which lies, covered by the pews, under the eastern portion of the arch which divides the chancel from the Lawrence Chapel. It bears the matrix of the brass effigies, now lost, of a man in armour and his wife, with scrolls proceeding from their mouths ; and of four shields of arms. From the character of the matrix I gather that the lost brass belonged to the second half of the fifteenth century.

Among the Harleian Manuscripts at the British Museum (2113) is "an Heraldical Book in folio" consisting of many "Coats, Pedigrees, and Fragments," collected by the third Randle Holme (1627-1699), who has preserved among them some notices of the monuments then remaining in Chelsea Church, and among them the following inscription and arms :—

Orate pro bono statu henric waver militis et cristine uxoris eius.

Arms. arg. on a fesse sa. 3 escallops, or, impaled with, quarterly 1 & 4 ermine, a chevron sa. 2 & 3 on a fesse sa. 3 crowns or.

The arms, as tricked in the manuscript, show the chevron charged with a crescent for difference.

Since no other monument now remains in the Church to which this inscription could have belonged, it is probable that the lost brasses of the slab in the Lawrence Chapel were those of Henry Waver and his wife. "Christian, relict of Sir Henry Waver, Knight," says Faulkner, in his "History of Fulham," "died anno 1480, being seised of the manor of Rosamunds, in Fulham . . . the next heir to which place was Christian, daughter of her son Henry. No later records relative to this manor have been discovered, but Mr. Lysons supposes it to be the estate at Parson's Green adjoining the Rectory House . . ."

On the north side of the chancel, below the arch opening into the Lawrence Chapel, is a monument of a very unusual form, that, namely of a triumphal arch. Its situation is no less extraordinary: for the western portion of the arch opening into the Lawrence Chapel has been removed to make way for it, in such a manner that the remaining portion and the adjacent parts of the roof rest upon it. This monument would appear to have originally stood free, within the arch; and to have been used as a support for the wall above it, perhaps when the arch was rebuilt in its present form in 1784.

The piers of the monument are panelled and moulded, the arch semicircular, having the soffit decorated with an Elizabethan fret: and at either end, above the piers, is a shallow niche, with a conched, semicircular head. The whole is surmounted by a simple entablature of which the frieze is unusually deep. The mouldings and ornaments of this tomb are delicately contrived, and it is an early and very interesting example of classic work in this country.

In the centre of the frieze on the south side is a shield bearing these arms:—

Sa. a chevron between three eaglets close, or (should be arg.), for Gervoise; impaling, quarterly 1 & 4 sa. a chevron between 3 spears heads or, within a bordure gules, a mullet for difference. 2 & 3, az. 3 beacons burning or.

A similar shield is in the centre of the frieze on the north side, Gervoise between being differenced with a crescent. On the frieze is



MONUMENTS OF RICHARD GERVOICE, SARAH COLVILLE AND THOMAS LAWRENCE

also this crest repeated four times :—A tiger's head sable, tusked and maned or.

The Gervoise arms are repeated in the dexter spandril of the arch on either side ; the others are similarly repeated in the sinister spandrils : and on the inner face of the eastern pier is an achievement of Gervoise's arms, differenced as above, with helmet, crest, and mantling.

Upon a tablet of alabaster let into the inner face of the western pier is the following inscription :

VIRTVTIS PREMIVM LAVS
 RICHARDI, LECTOR, GERVOISI FVNERA CERNIS,
 VNA HIC PARTE SVI, CORPORE NEMPE IACET.
 IVRISCONSVLTVS, IVS MORTIS NON FVGIT ATRAE,
 IVS HABET IN IVVENES, IVS HABET INQVE SENES.
 OMNES ILLA RAPIT, NVLLO DISCRIMINE SÆVIT:
 SERIVS, AVT CITIVS, MORS TRVCVLENTA VENIT.
 ILLA FVRENS IVVENIS IVVENILIA FILA RESOLVIT,
 ANNIS AH, IVVENIS, MENTE ERAT ISTE SENEX.
 HVNCSVPERASTRA TVLITVITAECONSTANTIA, MORTIS
 EXITVS, ET VERAE RELIGIONIS AMOR.
 ILLI VITA FVIT CHRISTVS, MORS OPTIMA LVCRVM,
 MORTVVS ERGO SVIS VIVIT AT ILLE DEO.

OBIJT 6^o DIE FEB.

A^o DNĪ 1563.

A^o ÆTATIS SVÆ 27.

This Richard Jervoise (to adopt the modern spelling) was third, but second surviving son of the Richard Jervoise, mercer and Alderman of London, who purchased a lease of the Old Manor House at Chelsea sometime between 1520 and 1548 (see Appendix B), and whose will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on the seventh day of February, 1555–6. Lysons, indeed, conjectured that the monument was erected to the father, and as the lease had expired and the house had passed into other hands in 1557 (see chap. iv.) the conjecture would seem allowable, were it not contradicted by the absence of any epitaph, as well as by the fact that the Jervoise arms are differenced for a second son. I will return to this doubtful question presently.

An account of "the Jervoises of Herriard and Britford" contributed

to Vol. 3 of "The Ancestor" by Mr. F. H. T. Jervoise, brings to light many interesting particulars which are contained in a "Book of Evidences" compiled by the elder Richard Jervoise when at Chelsea. On the first page of this book is a roughly sketched pedigree with this heading :

" Hereafter followeth the pedigre of Thomas Jerveys sometyme of the Towne of Kydd'mster in the Countie of Wurcette' which Thomas hadd issue as hereafter followeth wth said pedigre was made and writen the thirde day of June anno dni 1552 "

Of this Thomas Jervoise, the writer was the only son ; and it is interesting to note that not only does he not claim any older descent, but, significantly, describes himself as "the purchaser." A pedigree at the College of Arms on the other hand (7 D. fol. 153) begins with Richard Jervoise, "whose ancestors according to family tradition came from Helstone in Cornwall." The next entry in the book is the following memorandum of his marriage and issue : "Memor. that I Richard Jerveis of London, Mcer toke to wyffe Wenefride late the wyffe of Willm Stathum, of London, mercer, and married her the thursdaye the xxvj day in Octobre A° dni 1525 which was doughter of John Bernerd of London mercer and had isshues by the sovaunce of God these children as hereafter doth folowe by the said Wenefride Jerveis.

" Itm Barnard Jerveis my first sone was borne the xv daye of Septembre A° xv°xxx betwext x and xi of the cloke at night and crisined the xvi daye Doctor Clement and James Barnard his godfathers Mrs Resce late the wyffe of John Grene mercer godmother and James Bolney Mercere godfather at the ["ffount" erased] bysshop which Barnard deputed to Gode in octobre anno dui 1535

" Itm Thomas Jerveis my second sone was borne on Saterdag being Childermas day the xxviiij daye of Decembre the yere of o' lord god xv° and xxxij iij quarters of the houre after ix of the cloke in the night and Cristned on sent Thomas day folowyng his godfathers S^r Thomas More knyght late lord Chancellor of Ingland Mr Thomas Walshe the Kygs Remembrauncer in his Exchequer ladie Mary Seymer wyffe to Sir Thomas Seymer knyght Alderman of London godmother godfather at the busshop George Welshe brother to the said Thomas Walshe.

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCH 223

"Item Richard Jerveis my iij^d sone was borne on Sunday the iij day of Septembre A^o 1536 at vij of the Cloke before noon and Crisined the same daye his godfathers at the ffount Walter Marshe and Henry Polsted gent godmother Barbara wyffe to Andrewe Fuller of London mercer and mchant of the Staple at Calcis and at the bysshop John Walker deputie to the right hoñable Counties Sar These Christ geve them of his grace that they may be alle his srvnts in the faith of Jhu crist. Amen "

The marriage licence granted by the Bishop of London, which describes both parties as of the parish of St. Mary Magdalen's London, is dated 24th October 1525.

In Nash's "Worcestershire" (vol. ii. p. 210) I find that the Manor of Bedcote was purchased by "Mr. Jerveis" in 1538, and sold by Sir Thomas Jervoise for £1100 in 1625. Also that Richard Jervoise had a grant of the advowson of Old Swinford from Johanna St. Leger, and presented in 1547, while the next presentation was made by "Winifred Jervoise widow," on the 15th Jan. 1556-7. Nash also relates that in connection with a dispute as to the right of Thomas Jervoise and others to interfere in the ejectment of one of the masters of King Edward's School at Stourbridge, a commission was held in Kidderminster Church on the 9th of September, 1594, when certain persons deposed "that Richard Jerveyes, grandfather to Thomas Jerveyes (then Lord of the Manor of Bedcote), was born in the town or parish of Kidderminster of mean parents, and that becoming an apprentice in London, got wealth and afterwards purchased the said Manor of Bedcote."

From this and from the "Evidences," we may assume that Richard Jervoise had to make his own way in life; and, further, that his marriage, when only twenty-five years of age, with the widow Statham, contributed a good deal to his rapid success, as well as being the cause of his settling in Chelsea, as I shall presently show. Whether or not he is buried at Chelsea I am unable to determine, as his will contains no other provision for his interment than that he shall be buried where it may be convenient, at a cost not exceeding £50. A fine half-length portrait of him which is at Herriard, is reproduced in "the Ancestor," together with many others of his descendants.

His wife, it will be remembered, was daughter to John Barnard of London, mercer. In 1528, James Barnard purchased premises in Chelsea of John Barnard and his wife Alice (Feet of Fines, Middlesex), and in 1540 made his will, in which he describes himself as of Chelsea, gentleman, and mentions his mansion-house at Chelsea, his wife Ursula, his son Richard, his daughter Winifred (both minors) and his sister Jarvoys. This leaves no room to doubt that John Barnard was the father of Winifred Jervoise, and of James Barnard, whose wife Ursula was the daughter of Lord Sandes, Lord of the Manor of Chelsea.

Returning to the Gervoise monument, we can now form a better conjecture as to the date of its erection : and as it is an early example of the classic revival, the point deserves a little consideration.

In the first place, I must mention a drawing of the monument on a pedigree at the College of Arms, which is inscribed "View of a Monument erected in the Parish Church of Chelsea, in the County of Middlesex, to the memory of Richard Gervoise, Esq., below mentioned as it now (1812) remains." This view is a fairly accurate representation of the tomb, though somewhat too broad for its height ; but underneath the arch is shown a plain altar tomb, of a much darker colour, and joined to the piers at either end. Another drawing, of about the same date, which is in the collection of Mr. Edmund Gardner, shows the monument from the other side, including the altar tomb which appears to be of black marble. Whether this altar tomb had any existence in fact may be seriously doubted, for the space between the piers is barely five feet six inches ; while the lower tier of fluting, though now chipped off, adorned the inner as well as the other faces of the piers ; so that if any tomb existed it must have been less than, say, four feet six inches in length, to be clear of the carved piers. Lysons, writing about 1790, describes the monument simply as "A large monument with an open arch about ten feet in height, ornamented with fluted carving. On the inside of one of the pillars is an inscription," &c. A description which can hardly be read otherwise than as of a large monument *consisting of* an open arch, if we consider the small space available between the piers.

Lysons adds that the elder Jervoise was buried at Chelsea, but without quoting his authority, as he is usually so careful in doing. Faulkner, again, makes no mention of an altar tomb in his first edition (1810), but describes the monument much in the same words as Lysons. "A large monument raised in the form of an arch open at both sides, about ten feet in height, ornamented with roses, branches, and fluted carving. This was probably erected to Richard Gervoise, Sheriff of London, who died in 1557 (*sic*); but the greater part being concealed by pews, there is no inscription visible, but the following," &c.

This description is repeated verbatim in the second edition (1829), and accompanied by a drawing which shows the arch standing all alone, without any pews, &c., or background.

So far, then, there is nothing trustworthy to go upon. We now come to the arms, which, although not the safest of guides, give a clue, at all events, to the solution of the question : for I am informed that the arms impaled with those of Jervoise on the monument were quartered by the descendants of Thomas, son of the elder Richard Jervoise. On an old parchment at Herriard they appear in the second and third quarters, followed by two Ridley coats which came in through the marriage of the said Thomas Jervoise; as well as on several seals, one of which is attached to a document dated 1657. It is fair to presume, therefore, that as the elder Richard was the founder of the family, and does not mention his mother in the pedigree which he wrote with his own hand, these arms are those of his wife, Winifred Barnard, supposing first (as is known to be the case) that she was not an "heiress" at the time of her marriage (her brother James being alive), and secondly (as is not improbable), that James Barnard's infant children, mentioned in his will, survived the date of the erection of the monument, when the arms were merely impaled; but died without issue, on which event Winifred would become the heir of her father (supposing further that she had no more brothers), and her descendants would be entitled to quarter her arms. If this be allowed, we have next to ask, why was the Jervoise shield impaling these arms differenced with a crescent? For had they been those of the younger Richard's wife, they could never have descended to his brother's heirs.

But on looking at the monument itself, I find that, whereas the mullet on the impaled arms is carved, the crescent on the Jervoise arms is merely painted: and as one gross mistake was made in repainting these arms (namely the substitution of or for azure, as is noted above), it is not improbable that there were others. In fact, the crescent is only painted on one of the impaling coats, and not on the other.

All these circumstances, I think, point to the conclusion that the monument was erected by Winifred Jervoise on the death of her son Richard in 1564; the inscription on one side of the arch, and the achievement of Jervoise only on the other, differenced for a second son, being for him; while the shields on the cornice of the monument commemorated his father and mother. But until the identity of these impaled arms can be established, the question must remain as it is.

There are no monuments to the Barnards, but Ursula is represented in that of her second husband, Thomas Hungerford, which I shall next describe. Barnard's estate is specified in an entry on the Court Rolls in 1544 (P. R. O., portfolio 205), of which the following is the substance in English:

"To this Court came Thomas Hungerford Esquire, and acknowledged that he held as of freehold of our Lady the Queen as in right of his wife, late wife of James Barnard deceased, seven tenements or cottages with their appurtenances, containing by estimation one hundred acres of land, meadow and pasture. . . . At a rent of fifty-four shillings and sixpence. . . ."

Hungerford's monument is affixed to the north wall of the upper chancel. It is similar in design to that of Thomas Lawrence, above described, having the small effigies of the deceased and his two sons kneeling on one side of an altar, and those of his wife and daughter on the other side. The inscription is as follows:

HERE LIETH THE BODIES OF THOMAS HVNGERFORD
OF CHILSEY IN THE COVNTY OF MIDD ESQVIER
THE SECOND SONNE OF ROBERT HVNGERFORD
THELDER OF CADNAME IN THE COVNTY OF WILTH
ESQVIER WHICH HATH SERVED KING HENRY THE



MONUMENTS IN THE CHANCEL

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCH 227

VIII IN THE ROMETH OF A GENTILMAⁿPENCIONER AND
 WAS WITH HIS MATIE AT THE WINING OF BOLOGNE
 AND KING EDWARD THE VI AT MVSSELBROVGHE
 FEILD BESIDES QVENE MARY AND QVENE
 ELIZABETH IN THEIR AFFAIRES BEING OF
 THADGE OF LXX YERES WHO HAD TO WIFE
 VRSVLA MAIDENHEAD THE DAVGHTER
 OF THE LADY SANDS ANNO DOMNE 1581.

On the cornice is written :

O LORDE IN THE HAVE I TRVSTED
 LETT ME NEVER BE CONFOVNDED.

Above the cornice are three shields of arms, that in the centre being surmounted by the well-known badge of the Hungerfords as combined with that of the Heytesburys: a garb, or sheaf, between two sickles; and bearing, Quarterly 1 & 4 sa. 2 bars arg. in chief three plates (Heytesbury). 2 & 3. Per pale indented gu. & vert., a chevron, or (Hungerford). That on the dexter side bears the same quartering 2, or 3, garbs arg. banded gu. a chief or (Peverell). 3 Quarterly 1 & 4. erm. a lion rampant gu. crowned or, within a bordure engrailed sa. bezanty (Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall) 2 & 3, or, a saltier engrailed sa. (Botetourt).

That on the sinister side bears Quarterly 1 & 4 Hungerford quartered with Heytesbury, 2 & 3 Peverell.

The tinctures are here corrected, the monument having been inaccurately repainted.

I find in a rental of the manor dated 1587—a few years after Hungerford's death—which is amongst the Harleian Charters the entry "Thomas Young, gentleman, freehold rent of divers tenements and 100 acres of land called Hungerford's farm lying in Chelsea 54s. 6d." In the Parish Register is also the following :

1604. "Thomas Younge a yeoman of the Guarde was buried the 29^o Septem. Who hath geven to the parishes of Chelsey Kengington & Willisdon xx^s a pece yerely for ever to the use of the poore there."

Two houses in Kensington still pay the sum to the parishes of

Kensington and Willesden, but Chelsea has lost her claim—apparently from neglect. (Chelsea Charities Report, 1862.) Had the bequest been charged on the Chelsea property it would perhaps have enabled me to identify Hungerford's house with more certainty than I can claim for the following conjecture. The only guide, in the absence of any positive evidence whatever, is the proprietorship of the rights of common. In Dr. King's MS. are three lists of houses having common rights, in the years 1663, 1674, and c. 1709 respectively. At that time the commoners' rights were "stinted": that is to say, each house was allowed, by ancient custom, to put a certain number of beasts on the common, and no more, in proportion to the land belonging to the same. This proportion, as far as I can gather from the lists, was, roughly speaking, two cows and one heifer for about 15 acres of land. This would be, say, 12 cows and 6 heifers for 100 acres: but no house in the list of 1663 (which is a presentment of Court Baron) had more than half that; so it may be supposed that Hungerford's right of common was divided amongst his other tenements. In support of this I find that two small houses in Church Lane, since built into three—immediately to the south of the Rectory—enjoyed common for 4 cows and 2 heifers, while in the conveyance of the Rectory, by Pawlet, in 1566, its southern boundary is "*tenementum ibidem Thomae Hungerford.*" This "tenement" can hardly have been Barnard's "Mansion"; and I have little doubt that "Reynolds' Farm, late William Arnold's, late Youngers," mentioned in Dr. King's list (? Younge's, as I find no other mention of the name Younger) was the one in question.

The difficulty does not end here. For there is another, namely Evans' Farm, that enjoyed common for 6 cows and 3 heifers; and Faulkner, without stating on what authority schedules, Lord Cheyne as owner of Reynolds' Farm, and two unknown owners (J. Sanders and J. Bennet) for Evans' Farm in 1674 and 1713 respectively, whereas the probability is that the reverse is correct; for Evans' Farm was bought by Henry VIII., and leased only to Evans by subsequent lords, while Hungerford's Farm had been the freehold property of Thomas Younge till his death in 1604.

If this be granted, the matter is settled. For in Dr. King's own

list of commoners—probably written about 1709—there is this entry :
 “Late Mr. Bennet ; Mr. Mart has the land and Mr. Newdick has the farm house. Quaere whose right.”

A conveyance dated 24 March 1747–8, by Joseph Newdick and others, shows that the site of the house was the north-west corner of Church Street, the parcels being there described as “Six brick messuages and garden plots . . . situate together in Church Lane and abutting thereon on the east, on the Duke of Buckingham’s, now the Duke of Beaufort’s garden [Dovecote Close] on the west, on a way or passage leading from Chelsea Fields towards Fulham, [the King’s Road] on the north . . . ”

Right of common for 6 cows and 3 heifers is mentioned in the conveyance. (Middx. Reg. 1748, Bk. 3, No. 276.)

I will conclude this scanty notice with Ursula Hungerford’s will, which contains some interesting details :

In the name of God Amen The xv^jth daye of October and in the yere of oure Lorde God everlastinge one thousande fyve hundred eightie three I Ursula Hungerford of Chelsey in the Countie of Middlesex widowe beinge sicke in bodye but whole in minde and of good and perfect remembraunce (lawde & praise be to almightie god) doe ordaine & make my laste will & testamente in manner & forme followinge Imprimes I bequeath my soule to almightie god my maker and redeemer And my bodye to be interred in the Chancel wthin the parishe Church of Chelsey by my husband. Itm I give unto Agnes Ale y one hundrethe pounce of whiche I have delivered my sonne Edmond Hungerford a chaine of golde waying fourscore pounce the whiche she muste have exepte her uncle Anthonye Hungerford do paie her the fourscore pounce and the reste of the hundrethe poundes Edmond Hungerford my sonne muste paie her at the daie of my deceasse. Itm I give to the forenamed Agnes Ale my duraunce gown my beste petticoate & all my Lynnen and my clothe gowne. Itm I give & bequeathe to my sonne Edmond Hungerford all my leases. Itm I bequeathe Thos Ale tenne poundes and double apparrell to be delivered at the daie of my decease. Item I gyve & bequeathe to goodwiffe Abott one of my Worste featherbeddes a bolster & a paire of course sheetes. Itm I give & bequeathe Edwin one of my Worste featherbeds a bolster & a paire of sheetes. Itm I give & bequeath to Edwards wiffe one of my worste featherbedds a bolster & two paire of sheetes. Itm I gyve & bequeathe to my mayd Alyce all my worste petticotes and my nightgowne & Tenne shillinges of monney to be paide at the daie of my decease. Itm I give to the forenamed Alice three of my smocks. Itm I gyve to Elizth Samon fortie shillinges I saie fortie shillinges. Itm I give the picture of the Queenes maiestie in the parlor to Mr. Wood. Itm I give to Maister

Slidoll the picture of Kinge Henrie withe the other picture of the queenes maiestie
 Itm I gyve to goodwife Page my sonne Aley and my daughters pictures withe my Lorde
 of Lesters picture and Queen Maryes picture. Itm I give to goodman Cottrell Mr. Hunger-
 ford's picture and myne owne. Itm I gyve to Mr. Browne King Henrie the seaventh his
 picture & King Edward and my Lord Treasurers pictures. Itm I gyve to Mistris
 Wade my pepper box of silver & guilt. Itm I gyve to Mr. Browne thirtie shillings
 Itm I give to Tymson fortye shillings and the picture of oure Ladye withe my husbands
 Armes. Itm I gyve to Mr. Samon sixe pictures in the greate chamber. Itm I make &
 ordaine Edmond H. my sonne to be my full & whole executor and do give unto him
 all my goods moveable and unmoveable (savinge that before expressed in my will) and
 he to pforme my will. Itm I appoint Mr. Browne & Mr. Wade to be overseers of my
 will Witness being present John James clerk Edwarde Page Witnes. Thomas Wade
 the xvijth of October 1583 Henry Samon, Henry Tymson.

Pro. 19 Oct. 1583 by Edmond Hungerford.

The monument of Humfrey Peshall follows next in order of date.
 This is probably the smallest monument in existence : it consists of an
 inscription engraved upon a brass plate measuring only $2\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches,
 which is set in a little slab of stone affixed to the south wall of the nave,
 adjoining the Dacre Monument. The inscription itself is an example
 to all composers of epitaphs :—

M. S.

*Humfri Peshall de Halne Par. Halys Owne
 Sallop. fil. Dni. Johis. de Horsly Staff.
 Bti. obt. Febre Londini Julii 12^o 1650.
 Aet. 51. Ex ux. Maria fil. Rici. Blount de
 Rowleye Staff. et Jana Leighton de
 Coates Salop. tres filios reliq^t Supstes
 Johane, Lauru & Humfrū.*

That is to say :

Sacred to the memory of Humfrey Peshall of Hawne in the
 Parish of Hales Owen in Shropshire son of Sir John (Peshall)
 of Horsley in Staffordshire Bart. who died of a fever in London
 on the 12th July 1650 aged 51 years. By his wife Mary
 daughter of Richard Blount of Rowleye in Staffordshire and

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCH 231

Jane Leighton of Coates in Shropshire he had three sons who survived him, namely John, Laurence, and Humfrey.

Simple as this inscription may appear, it has nevertheless the interest of being an imposture. A glance at the lettering suffices to show that its date is considerably later than 1650; indeed, there is little doubt that it was not engraved until after the Peshall baronetcy became extinct in 1771, and a claimant arose in the person of the Reverend John Pearsall, who according to Mr. Grazebrook's "Heraldry of Worcestershire," was the descendant of a respectable yeoman family which had been seated at Hawne for several generations. This gentleman not only changed his own name, styling himself Sir John Peshall, but took a similar liberty with that of his grandfather by altering the inscription on his tombstone; and also composed an epitaph similar in character to the above, which is printed in Nash's account of Hales Owen Church, in the "History of Worcestershire."

There is no record of Peshall's burial at Chelsea, nor can I find any reason for the monument having been placed here.

Upon the north wall of the nave, at the west side of the Cheyne Monument, is a tablet of an irregular oval shape, supported by a cherub, and surrounded with foliage, the whole being of white marble. It bears the following inscription, without arms or crest:

Here lye the Bodies of
RICHARD GUILFORD
and of his two Wives who
dyed before him Abigail
Daughter of John Wood
of the County of York by whom
He had a Daughter Judeth
and Elizabeth Daughter of Roger
Friend of Lambeth in Surrey by whom
he had two Daughters Anne and Abigal
and a Son Charles. He gave to this Parish

CHELSEA OLD CHURCH

for ever the Yearly Summ of ten Pounds
to be distributed on the 5th of Decem^r
the Day of his Wedding with
the aforesaid Elizabeth
and dyed 16 Nov : 1680 aged 66 years.

Abigail his youngest Daughter
Wife of George Bishop of Bath
and Wells and Executrix to
her Brother Charles
Guilford Erected
this Monument.

AN : 1709.

In Mr. Guilford's Will, which was dated 22 October 1679, and proved on December 15 in the following year, is a bequest, "to Doctor Adam Littleton, my son-in-law William Laws, my cousin Frances Guilford" and others, of an annuity of £10 to be disposed of on December 5 in every year to sixteen poor people of Chelsea "to each of them ten shillings, to the Minister for preaching a sermon to them on that day twenty shillings, for a dish of meat and drink for the Minister, Churchwardens and overseers for the poor to dine together on that day twelve shillings, to the Clerk two shillings and sixpence, to the ringers in the morning three shillings, and to the Sexton two shillings and sixpence, making up the full sum."

This bequest is thus modified in a codicil dated 5 May 1680:—

"I do will direct and order to the Minister of the Parish one guinea piece of gold valued at one pound one shilling and sixpence for a dish of meat to the use aforesaid eleven shillings to the Clerk two shillings sixpence and nothing for the Sexton there being no such officer in Chelsea and to the ringers five shillings but if the bells shall not be rung then that five shillings to be given away to the poor . . ."

This bequest still subsists, and the sermon is annually preached at the New Church. My father, the present Incumbent of the Old Church, informs me that on one occasion he was the preacher, being

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCH 233

then Curate at the New Church. On meeting Mr. Kingsley, his Rector, a few days afterwards, he made some inquiry as to the "piece of gold," to which Mr. Kingsley had no reply quite ready. But a little later he received from Mr. Kingsley a present of a handsome umbrella.

Guildford's daughter Judith married John Cale, and her name is perpetuated in "Cale Street," in memory of a bequest of £100 to be invested by the Churchwardens for the annual benefit of six poor widows.

It is stated in the Notice of Dr. Adam Littleton in the "Dictionary of National Biography," that Littleton married Guildford's daughter, and acquired a large fortune with her. This is evidently a mistake caused by misreading the bequest above quoted. "Mrs. Susan Littleton, widow of Dr. Littleton," was buried in the Church in 1698.

Upon the north wall of the nave, close to the Cheyne Monument, is that of James Buck, bearing this inscription :—

Here underneath
lieth what was Mortal
of JAMES BUCK ESQ. who
departed this life Dec 24 A D
1680 in his Climacterical, viz LXIII^d year of
his Age. He was Son to MATTHEW
BUCK ESQ of WINTERBOUR in y^e Cou
nty of GLOUCESTER by MARY his wife
daughter of S^r PETER BUCK of ROCH
ESTER in KENT Knt. He had to wife
ELIZABETH daughter of HUMPHREY
ROGERS OF RICHMOND in y^e County
of SURRY ESQ by whom he had Issue,
five Sons & one Daughter JAMES FRANCIS
ELIZABETH CHARLES JOHN & RICH
ARD ; whereof the four first are still survi
ving His Wife ELIZABETH having
lived 20 years married died Nov. 23 1674

CHELSEA OLD CHURCH

in y^e 50th year of her Age & lies Buried in
BARKHAMSTEAD Church in HART-

FORDSHIRE with her Ancestors.

JACOBUS F. Optimo & Optimae
Parenti M.P."

Arms. Per fesse nebuly arg. & sa. 3 bucks' attires fixed to the
scalps counterchanged. On a canton az. a cup or; for Buck. Impaling
arg. a chevron between 3 bucks sa. for Rogers.

At Winterbourne, Gloucestershire, there are epitaphs commemo-
rating James Buck, who died in 1612-13, his son Matthew Buck, who
died in 1631; and Thomas Buck, Lord of the Manor of Winter-
bourne, who died in 1658, aged forty-seven years.

John, the third son of James Buck, was buried at Chelsea, October
12, 1670, and Elizabeth, his only daughter, 12 November 1708.

Upon the west wall of the nave, on the south side, is a slight
monument of marble, with this inscription :

Near this place lyes Inter'd
the Body of
MRS. ANN CULLIFORD
Wife of
Capt. RICHARD CULLIFORD
who Departed this life
the 8th of 7ber 1726
in the 67th year of
Her Age.

Underneath are these arms: arg. a fesse gu. between 3 colts sa.
impaling az. a lion crowned between 3 cross crosslets or.

"Captain Richard Culliford, Senior, of Chelsea" is named as one
of the trustees of Sir John Munden's will, dated 1727. He was buried
at Chelsea on 3 May 1738. He is, no doubt, identical with the
Captain Culliford in the Journal of Rowland Davies, Dean of Cork,
published by the Camden Society, whose daughter married Boyle, son

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCH 235

of Sir Richard Aldworth, of Newmarket, co. Cork. And also with "Commissary Culliford" who appears in Don Saltero's list of benefactors.

In Narcissus Luttrell's "Narration of State Affairs" there is an entry on 23 Dec. 1687: "Mr. Cullyford Commissioner of his Majesties Customes in Ireland is lately come over, and is made a Commissioner here . . ." Again in 1690, "Mr. Culliford is appointed Commissioner for revenue in Ireland, and is forthwith to go there." In 1692 he was dismissed for some offence. But in 1696 he is appointed Surveyor-General of the Customs (apparently in England), with a salary of £1000 a year. In 1699 he contested an election at Corfe Castle, but unsuccessfully.

Buried

18 Jan. 1728-9 Catharine Culliford.

Upon the north wall of the upper chancel is a large monument of marble with this inscription:

H. S. E.
 MARIA BUCKBY
 GULIELMI BUCKBY Servientis ad legem Filia
 Virgo omni Officiorum genere
 Omnibus Animi Dotibus
 Instructa ;
 Singulus (*sic*) memorare,
 Tam cumulatae Virtutis Diminutio foret.
 Deo Pietas, Homini Caritas
 Inclaruit :
 Animi Firmitatem Dolorum perpressio,
 Spem coelitus demissam, Mortis Contemptio,
 Comprobavit.
 Omnes callebat Artes quae Foeminam decebant,
 Sibi honorificas, Suis perjucundas,
 Obijit A.D. 1733.

ANNA SKINNER é Sorore Filia,
 Cui tantam Virtutem propius contemplari licuit,
 Diuturnae Conseutudinis memor,
 Et ne neglectae jacerent tam dulces Exuviae
 Hoc Monumentum posuit,
 juxta Quod Ipsa moriens
 Anno xli MDCCLVI sepeliri
 Voluit.

This inscription has not been printed before. The following is the substance of it in English :

"Here lies buried Maria Buckby, daughter of William Buckby Serjeant-at-law, a lady endowed with so many graces, so many natural gifts, that to enumerate them singly would be but to lessen the sum of such a store of virtue.

"Her reverence for God, her love for her fellow creatures, were well known. Her strength of mind was proved by her endurance of suffering, her heavenly hope by a contempt of death. She was skilled in all those arts which grace a woman, and which were as creditable to herself as they were acceptable to her friends.

"She died A.D. 1733.

"Anne Skinner, her sister's daughter, who was privileged in being intimate with so virtuous a woman, in memory of their long companionship and to preserve such cherished remains from oblivion, erected this Monument, and at her death, in the year of Christ 1756, desired to be buried near it."

Upon a lozenge-shaped shield at the top of the monument are these arms : Sable a chevron, between three bucks' attires, or.

Mrs. Skinner, a widow, is mentioned in the will of Robert Woodcock, in the year 1710, as then being in possession of his house in Church Lane. In the Sexton's Book it is noted that she was buried on 10 June, 1756, "under Mr. Warner's pew, her feet close to the steps of the Communion table."

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCH 237

Upon the south wall, and near the western end of the chancel, is a neat monument of marble, with this inscription :

Here lyes the Body of
ELIZABETH STEWART
Wife of THOMAS STEWART of Barbadoes
Merc^{ts}

who departed this life the 19th
day of February 1717
Aged 55 years.

Here also lyes the Body of the said
THOMAS STEWART
Who departed this life the 2^d
Day of November 1722
Aged 56.

Also THOMASIN DAMARR
Daughter of the above
ELIZABETH STEWART
died April 30th 1758
Aged 70.

Above are these arms : or, a fesse checky arg. & az. within a double tressure counter flory gu. (Stewart) impaling sa. on a cross between 4 fleur de lis arg. 5 pheons az.

Motto : "Nobilis ira."

I have already mentioned Mr. Stewart's bequest of an altar-piece. Another bequest of his still subsists, namely the interest of £50 directed to be laid out in freeholds, the interest to be paid yearly to the Rector, or Minister, of the Parish Church, in consideration of his preaching once in every year in the said Parish Church, upon January 5, a sermon upon the text contained in the 14th and 15th verses of the 50th Psalm, or in default to go to the use of the Charity School boys. From an entry in Narcissus Luttrell's private journal (see chap. xv. *infra*), it appears that this sermon was to commemorate a great deliverance he had on this day.

This bequest has increased in value to £100, thanks to Thomas Martyn, who wrote to Faulkner in 1810 on the subject as follows :

“ Dr. King [the Rector] never laid out Mr. Stewart's £50: the charge of paying the interest devolved upon his two surviving daughters : upon their deaths and my father's it devolved upon me, as my Mother's heir, and Mr. King as my Aunt's executor. That there might be an end to it, our connexion with Chelsea being dissolved, I purchased £100 in the three per cents. which were then about 57, with the consent of the Churchwardens.”

Mr. Stewart was one of the first occupants of Cheyne Row, having bought the freehold of a house there in 1719, which he had been occupying for some time past, from John Mackie, to whom it had been devised by his father-in-law, Samuel Fulke (Middlesex Registry, 1719, Bk. 4, 277-9).

Upon a large slab of black marble, which lies in the floor of the upper chancel, on the south side, is the following inscription to Henry Lussan and his niece Catherine Horton, surmounted by an achievement of arms which is now undecipherable :

Here lyeth the Body of
HENRY LUSSAN, ESQ.
Some time One of his Majesties
Justices of the Peace for the
County of Monmouth
Who departed this life the 2^d. day of
February 1750 In the 80th Year
of his Age.
In the Vault beneath this Marble
are deposited the Remains of
MRS. CATHERINE HORTON
Of this PARISH who departed this Life

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCH 239

On the 15th of January 1782
And was Niece of the above Inscribed
HENRY LUSSAN, ESQ.

The following bequest is contained in Mr. Lussan's will :

"Item. I give and bequeath to the Poor of the Parish of Chelsea, being the place wherein I had part of my school education, the sum of twenty pounds to be distributed in their direction by the Rector and Churchwardens . . ."

An account of the distribution of this charity is printed in the report of the Committee of the Vestry, published in 1862.

On a tablet upon the north wall of the nave is this inscription :

Near this spot
Are deposited the remains of
HENRY RAPER, ESQ.
born 16th October 1717
died May 11th 1789
and of his wife
KATHERINE RAPER
born 9th January 1735
died Nov. 12th 183
to whose memory
this tablet is erected by
filial respect
and affection.

In the floor of the south aisle, underneath the gallery, is a slab with this inscription :

Here lies the body of Mr **FRANCIS THOMAS**
Director of the China Porcelain
Manufactory of Lawrence Street, Chelsea,
Departed this life between the hours of
ten and eleven o'clock Sunday night the
6th of January 1770 in the 45 year of

CHELSEA OLD CHURCH

his age. Surely the tenderest husband
the best of fathers, and the sincerest friend
whose death is greatly lamented by us and
by all his friends.

Oh ! but when the great God does call
And summons us both great and small.
Therefore let us, my friends, prepare
Like this the best of fathers here.

This simple gravestone possesses the interest of being the single relic, not only in the Church, but in all Chelsea, that is left of the famous Porcelain Manufactory. Not only has every trace of the factory disappeared, so as to leave even the question of its site in dispute, but the bare facts of its history, though no older than the eighteenth century, have only recently been discovered.

For the following account I am chiefly indebted to Mr. William Bemrose, F.S.A., who in his recent work, "Bow, Chelsea, and Derby Porcelain," has published many interesting particulars of this manufactory, from manuscripts which have lately come into his possession.

Whatever may have been the origin of the Chelsea Factory it is clear that its celebrity was first established by Nicholas Sprimont, as we learn from a document preserved in the British Museum (Lansdowne MS., No. 289), entitled "The Cause of the Undertaker of the Chelsea Manufacture of Porcelain Ware."* "Several attempts," says the Undertaker, "have likewise been made here ; few have made any progress and the chief endeavours at Bow have been towards making a more ordinary kind of ware for common use. This Undertaker, a silversmith by profession, from a casual acquaintance with a chemist who had some knowledge that way, was tempted to make a trial, which, upon the progress he made, he was encouraged to pursue with great labour and expense ; and as the town and some of the best judges expressed their approbation of the essays he produced of his skill, he found means to engage some assistance. The manufacture

* This and the following extract I have taken from Mr. Beaver's "Memorials of Old Chelsea" (p. 96), where some further interesting details are given.

was then put upon a more extensive footing, and he had the encouragement of the public to a very great degree, so that the last winter he sold to the value of more than £3,500, which is a great deal considering the thing is new, and is of so great extent that it has been beyond the reach of his industry to produce such complete assortments as were required in a variety of ways . . . The late Duke of Cumberland told Colonel Yorke that the metal or earth had been tried in his furnace, and was found to be the best made in Europe. It is now daily improving and already employs at least one hundred hands, and there is a nursery of one hundred lads taken from the parishes and charity schools, and bred to designing and painting . . .”

This account is corroborated by another, which Mr. Chaffers quotes, by a workman named Mason. “I think the Chelsea China Manufactory began about 1748 or 1749. I went to work about 1751. It was carried on by the Duke of Cumberland and Sir Everard Fawkenner, and the sole management was entrusted to a foreigner of the name of Sprimont . . . I think Sir Everard died about 1755 [1758] much reduced in circumstances, when Mr. Sprimont became sole proprietor, and having amassed a fortune he travelled about England, and the manufactory was shut up about two years, for he would neither let nor carry it on himself.”

In the year 1759, Sprimont obtained a lease, for fourteen years, of the factory premises, the lessor being one Henry Porter, of Little Suffolk Street, gentleman. This lease is recited in an assignment thereof made by Sprimont ten years later, which is amongst Mr. Bemrose's manuscripts. The premises are therein described as:

“All that messuage or tenement situate in Laurence Street in Chelsea aforesaid, heretofore in the tenure or occupation of Mr. Lagrave and then of the said Nicholas Sprimont his under-tenants or assigns, and also all that piece or parcel of ground then in the tenure or occupation of the said Nicholas Sprimont whereon the said Nicholas Sprimont then had and now hath several Workhouses, shops, and kilns. by him erected and built for the manufacturing of Porcelain abutting East on Laurence Street aforesaid, West on garden ground of the said Henry Porter, North on a messuage or tenement late in the occupation

of the said Nicholas Sprimont and South on the messuage or tenement of the said Henry Porter thereby demised, containing in width from North to South as well in the front as in the rear thereof 85 feet little more or less and in depth from East to West as well on the South as on the North side thereof 90 ft. little more or less."

This enables us to fix the site of the factory with certainty : for a rectangular piece of ground of that size, practically a square, situate between two houses, on the west side of Laurence Street, could only have been on the south side of "Justice Walk"; namely, the site now occupied by "King's Mansions." The conveyance of the house in Lawrence Street "in which Mr. Lagrave does now inhabit" by John Offley (the representative of the Lawrences) to Henry Porter, was made in 1751. (Middlesex Registry, Bk. 1, No. 686.)

In 1769 Sprimont assigned his lease to James Cox, who in the following year assigned it again to William Duesbury and James Heath, of Derby, under whose auspices the works were carried on with more and more splendour till 1784, when they were shut down, and the models and moulds removed to Derby.

Francis Thomas was "Foreman or Clerk" of the works under Sprimont, and died exactly a month before Cox sold the business to Duesbury, and in the following year Duesbury brought an action against David Burnsall, Thomas' executor, for the recovery of "a great quantity of finished and unfinished porcelain to the amount of several hundred pounds," which, it was alleged, had been embezzled by Thomas. "The action was closed," says Mr. Bemrose, "after two years litigation, Duesbury paying the costs. Mrs. Thomas' state of mind had become deranged, and she had been confined in a mad-house; the attorney swearing there was nothing left to support the four children, the Court ordered the case to be closed."

The pleadings in this action contain a good deal of interesting information about the factory, and also about Francis Thomas. Amongst other things, we find it alleged that "soon after Mr. Cox had purchased the trade of Mr. Sprimont, he found it was a manufactory that did not suit him, he disposed of the same to Messrs. Duesbury & Co., Proprietors of a Manufactory of the like nature at

Derby who paid him the above £612 and also the further sum of £189 10s. for clay, and tradesmen's bills for putting the warehouse, &c., in repair. . . . In the intermediate time between August and February, and perhaps previous thereto, Mr. Sprimont's foreman or clerk one Francis Thomas embezzled a great quantity of finished and unfinished porcelain to the amount of several hundred pounds, and it can be proved by the persons who made the goods that those contained in the inventory hereafter mentioned were manufactured by and were the property of Mr. Sprimont. . . ." A formal demand was made for the goods, to which Burnsall replied that "he had not seen nor interfered with any of the Testator's goods except receiving the sum of £3000 in trust for Thomas' children." It was further alleged that "Thomas had a wife and four children to maintain, and had only £150 per annum, for about six years only ; but it is now said he died worth £8000 and upwards, and was not worth a shilling when he went to live with Mr. Sprimont." How far these allegations were true, it is now impossible to say; but the fact that the case was closed because no money was remaining in the defendant's hands, points, at least, to a considerable overstatement in the plaintiff's claim.

Affixed to the east wall of the chancel is an elegant monument designed by Wilton to commemorate Lucy Smith and Anne Wilton, whom Faulkner states to have been his daughters. Two funeral urns are inscribed respectively, "Lucy Smith died 22nd August 1781 aged 33 years," and "Anne Wilton died March 10th 1781 aged 23 years." Underneath is the following :

"To the memory of two affectionate Sisters whose Remains are deposited in the Vault of this Chancel.

"The virtues which in their short lives were shewn:
Have equal'd been by few, surpass'd by none."

At the foot of the monument is the signature "J. Wilton, fecit."

On the west wall of the Church, under the gallery, are two more modern tablets, with these inscriptions :

In the vault of this chancel is deposited the remains of Mary Ann Alice Bayley who

departed this life on the 17th of February 1824 aged forty-five. She was the beloved wife of Charles Bayley Esq., of the honorable East India Company's Civil Service in Bengal. The virtues of her mother Lucy Smith and her aunt, Anne Wilton, which she emulated are recorded in a mural monument in this chancel. Having performed all the duties of an excellent wife and mother she yielded up her soul to that Redeemer in whom she trusted. This tablet is placed by her most affectionate uncle, John Wilton.

Sacred to the memory of John Wilton Esq^r, his remains are interred with those of his relatives whose virtues he has affectionately and truly recorded on monumental tablets in this Church. He died on the 8th day of January 1835 in the 80th year of his age, after having passed the active portion of his life abroad, in the service of the Hon^{ble} East India Company with fidelity and honor. Possessing in a remarkable degree the manners and feelings of a gentleman he evinced throughout life a tender and liberal interest in the welfare of others, and a Christian benevolence of character which conciliated the esteem and regard of all who knew him.

On the west side of the northern pillar of the chancel arch is an ornate tablet with this inscription and arms :

HENRY POWELL Esq^r

Departed this Life December ye 8th 1752 Aged 77
 and is here interred in hope of a blessed Resurrection ;
 near the remains of ELIZABETH his Wife who was
 A most excellent Woman : and Died April 28th 1726
 He was a compleat Gentleman and a good Christian ;
 he was likewise bless'd with Power and Wealth,
 which he chiefly exerted in the service of
 The Widow and Fatherless ;
 And in a long attendance on
 His Sovereign. He behaved with
 the highest Honour and fidelity ;
 and never abused the
 great Confidence reposed in him.
 In gratitude to the best of Parents
 This Monument was erected
 By their Eldest Daughter

ELIZABETH POWELL

who died unmarried

April 23 1774 Aged 62.

Arms: Quarterly 1 & 4 gules a lion rampant regardant or. 2 & 3 argent 3 boars heads couped sable, for Powell of Shropshire, impaling argent a fess between 3 estoiles of 6 points azure.

Two tablets which are now affixed to the north wall of the chancel immediately above the Jervoise monument, but which are mentioned by Faulkner (1829) as being on the south wall of the chancel, are inscribed as follows:

In memory of Edward Stanley Esq of Dalegarth in the county of Cumberland who died the 23rd of July 1751 aged 61.

Near this place lies the Body of Mrs. Ann Stafford daughter of Hugh Stafford Esq of Pynes in the county of Devon who departed this life July the 30th 1722 Aged 18 years. As also the Body of Hugh Stafford Esq. who departed this life April the 29th 1729 Aged 23 years.

Near to these another tablet inscribed thus:

"Juxta conduntur cineres Annae Bridge in cujus Memoriam hanc tabulam posuit Filius ejus amantissimus Bewick Bridge, Divi Petri Collegii apud Cantabrigienses Socius. Obiit VI^{ta} Dec. A.D. MDCCCVII Ætatis suae LXXX."

Upon the west wall, on the south side of the Church is an oval tablet of marble, surrounded by a black painted mantling, and bearing this inscription:

Near this Place
lie the Remains
of

SYDENHAM TEAST EDWARDS

Esq. F.L.S.

Ob: Die: 8th Feb^y 1819

Act. 50

*As a faithful Delineator of Nature
few equal'd, none excel'd.*

The following particulars relating to Edwards are contained in some "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of William Curtis," founder of the "Botanical Magazine," which are prefixed to the General Indexes to the Plants figured in the magazine, published by Samuel Curtis in 1828:

"The artist of most use to Mr. Curtis was Sydenham Teast Edwards, who was introduced to him for the purpose of his patronage by a Mr. Denman who . . . happening to be at Abergavenny, noticed Edwards, whose father was a schoolmaster, and the organist there. Young Edwards, whilst a boy, had copied some of the plates of the Flora Londinensis, which were shown to Mr. Curtis, who was so pleased with them that he sent for him to London and had him instructed in drawing, etc., in which he improved very rapidly, and soon became able to draw and etch the plates of . . . the Botanical Magazine. The drawings of the magazine were entirely his own for many years, and were executed with a correctness not before known in periodical publications. It was not to plants alone that Mr. Curtis had directed the genius of Edwards. He attended him on most of his excursions in search of natural history; and whenever any curious bird was shot, any curious insect taken, or any natural object of curiosity, it was his business to make a correct drawing of it. . . . In this manner many years were spent, and Edwards was the companion rather than the servant of his patron up to the death of Mr. Curtis" (1799).

From an article by Mr. W. Botting Hemsley in the *Gardener's Chronicle* (4 June 1898, p. 340), I learn that Edwards continued sole artist to the "Botanical Magazine" until 1815, when, in conjunction with John Bellenden Kerf, he founded the "Botanical Register."

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCH 247

He also published a work on dogs, entitled "Cynographia Britannica," and, amongst other works, illustrated William Curtis' "Lectures on Botany," and "British Grasses," and "Companion to the Botanical Magazine." A large collection of his drawings is preserved at the Royal Gardens at Kew.

Faulkner, who prints a letter he received from Edwards, dated Charles Street, Queen's Elm, Chelsea, November 1812, states that he died in Barossa Place, Chelsea.

The following inscriptions, in various parts of the Church, are of minor interest.

In the chancel—near the vestry door :

In Memory of Mrs. Susanna Barker (late of this Parish), died October 29th, 1793. Aged 73 years.

In the chancel, inscribed on the corner of a large paving stone under the desk :

Beneath this Stone lies the Remains of Nicholas Ray Esq. of this Parish, he died with a firm reliance upon the Mercy of Almighty God the 24th day of Sep^r 1788. Aged 72 years.

On a slab of grey touch in the floor of the porch :

In memory of Edward Anderson who died August the 25th 1749, aged 76 years. Also Mr. Edward Anderson his son who died June the 17th 1781, aged 85 years, who was many years Mason to Chelsea Hospital, and also to his Majesty's Palaces at Hampton Court, Richmond and Kew.

On another slab in the floor of the porch :

Here lyeth the body of . . . Stevens, of the Parish of Snt Margarets Westmr, who departed this Life Jan. ye 27th 1723, the 57th year of his age. Here also lies the body of Mr. Cornelius Rose of the same Parish, he died May the 22 1731, in the 58 year of his age. Here also lyeth the Body of Mrs. Margaret Rose, wife to the above said, who departed this Life the 4th Day of February 1732 in the 71st year of her age.

In the chancel, in front of the desk, on a slab of touch—much worn.

Underneath this stone lyeth interred the body of Thomas Putland Esq., who departed this life on the 14th of July anno Dom. 1723, in the 72nd year of his age.

In the middle aisle is a slab of stone, much worn, bearing an inscription to Elizabeth Franklin, and the date 1698.

Another exhibits the remains of a Latin inscription, of which all I can decipher is the date, 1695, and the words Gulielm . . . and Ricard . . .

In the middle aisle—north side :

North of this stone are deposited the remains of Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Thomas Turner who died March 13, 1809. Aged 64 years.

Also of the before named Mr. Thomas Turner, who died on the 24th day of March 1825. Aged 85 years.

On a slab near font :

Elizabeth Lewer, ob. Decr. 6, 1762. Aetat. 71.

At the west end on the north side:

Mrs. Mary Ann Hodsdon, obiit 29 Maii 1802. Aetat 38.

On the same stone :

Mr. John Elderton, late of the City of London, packer, died March 23 1767, in the 40th year of his age.

On a slab of Purbeck at the west end on the north side of the Church :

Mrs. Ann Banks late of this Parish died March 1st 1759, in the 70th year of her Age. Arms, on a lozenge ;—a cross between 4 fleur de lys.

At the west end of the north aisle, in the floor :

Here lyeth Interr'd ye Body of Mrs. Ann Crespin . . . departed this life ye . . . 1720.

On a slab near the Cheyne Monument (partly hidden by the pews) :

. . . Who departed this life the 30th Jan. 1760, aged 80 years.

Also of Thomas, Husband of the above Anne Bubb, who died Sepr. 25th 1760, aged 86.

Also Elizabeth their daughter, the beloved wife of Mr. Tho. Lindsay . . . pothy in Westminster, who died April 24th 1769, aged 58.

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCH 249

A slab of black touch opposite the Cheyne Monument :

Here lyeth the body of Mr. John Crauford Esqr. who died Dec. ye 19 An. Dom. 1720, in the 49 year of his age.

Bowack notes that John Crauford was one of Her Majesty's Commissioners and was son of Commissary David Crauford. He lived in Paradise Row.

At the west end on the south side :

Mr. Nathaniel Firmin died 1 February 1753, aged 63.

Mr. Nathaniel Firmin his son died October 1767, aged 24 years.

In the Sexton's Book it is stated that Mrs. Ann Firmin was buried in the Church, 7 Nov. 1771, aged 47.

In the south aisle :

Here lyeth the body of Mrs. Sarah Wade, wife of Bryan Wade of this Parish, gent who died ye 7 of Apl. 1710.

Opposite the Dacre Monument in the south aisle :

Underneath this stone is inter'd the body of Mrs. Mary Berwick, wife of Mr. Benj . . .

Upon the southernmost pier of the arch at the west end of the More Chapel :

Sacred to the memory of Catherine, wife of the Rev^d Thomas Mahon clk, Rector of Newport Prat, co of Mayo Ireland, died April 27th 1822. Aged 20 years.

Song beauty youth love virtue joy this group
Of bright ideas flowers of Paradise
As yet unforfeit : in one blaze we bind
Kneel and present it to the skies as all
We guess of heaven, and these were all her own
And she was mine, and I was—was :—most blessed
Gay title of the deepest misery !

Her remains are deposited in this aisle. In front of Lord Dacre's Tomb.

On a small stone now in the floor of the north aisle :

Under this stone are deposited the remains of Mrs. Catherine Mahon, who died at Chelsea April 27th, 1822. Aged 20 years.

Upon the south wall of More Chapel :

Beneath this tablet rest the mortal remains of Michael Bentley, Esq., a bencher of the Middle Temple, he was born at Bradford in the county of York, February 18th, 1756, and died November 20th 1837.

Also of Maria Susannah his wife, born March 1st 1761, died November 16th 1828.

Also of John Bentley of the Middle Temple, Solicitor, their eldest son, born July 8th 1790. Died December 11th 1835.

Also of Mary the only surviving daughter of the above Michael and Maria Susannah Bentley, born April 4th, 1797. Died May 29th, 1837.

If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. 1 Thess. c. 11, v. 14.

Upon the east wall of More Chapel:

Hoc juxta marmor Requiescit Edmundus Staunton, A.M. Clericus. Johannis Staunton nuper de Longoponte in agro Warwicensi armigeri filius natus minimus Obiit coelebs die Septembris decimo sexto Anno domini MDCCCXXXV. Aetatis suae LVIII^o.

This monument is signed "Crake."

Next to the Dacre monument, on the south wall:

To the Memory of Mrs. Ann Lowfield, daughter of Thomas Lowfield, Esq., late of this Parish, she departed this life the 5th of December 1720, and according to her own desire lies buried close on the outside of this wall.

Arms (on a lozenge). Per fess vert and or, a pale counterchanged. In chief a bull's head sable, and in base 2 garbs gules (should be sable). (Lysons.)

Upon the wall under a window in the south aisle, on an oval tablet is this quaint inscription :

Near this spot is interr'd the remains of Matthew Squire, Esq., Rear Admiral of the Red of his Majestys Royal Navy who departed this life, 22nd January 1800. Aged 55 years.

His virtues are too well known to be recorded here, being sincerely regretted by all his friends.

Upon the south wall under the gallery is a neat monument with this inscription :

Near this place lyes the Body of Mrs. Mary Bolney widow, late of Little Chelsey, Daughter of Bartholo^m Smith, Esq., of the Soke in Winchester. She was twice

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCH 251

married, first to John Wybarnd Esq., of Cawkwell in Kent, by whom she had 2 sons & 3 daughters, and afterwards to Geo. Bolney of Bolney Esq., by whom 3 sons & 6 daughters, and died in the 88th Year of her age anno Domini 1716.

She was buried on the 5th September.

Lysons gives the following arms in mentioning this monument:

Sable a fess or between 3 swans (Wybarnd) and or in chief 2 mullets, and in base a crescent gules (Bolney) impaling azure 3 mascles or between 2 unicorns heads erased sable (Smith of Yorkshire).

Upon the west wall:

Near this place lyeth interr'd the body of Anne Wakelin (widow of Tho. Wakelin of York Building, in the Liberty of Westminster Apothecary) who died the 7th of Septemb^r 1722. Anno Aetat 44.

Upon a round marble tablet on the west wall:

To the memory of Major Gen. John Brown, who died March 20th, 1816, aged 60. This stone is erected by his grateful and affectionate nephew.

Upon a tablet of marble on the north wall under the gallery :

Beneath this monu^{mt} lyeth y^e Body of Jennett the wife of Alexander Hamilton of this Parish, Gent : who departed this life y^e 9th of Sept^r 1716 in y^e 54th year of her age. Here also lyeth the Body of the above named Alexander Hamilton, who died the 30th of November 1724 in the 72nd year of his age.

In the western porch are tablets to Hester Hill (1699), William Clarkson (1712), and Anna Maria Powell, late wife of Captain Dawley Sutton (1745). There are also a few other nineteenth-century tablets in various parts of the church. The tombs of Ludar Lang (1791) and Richard Lambourne (1793), mentioned by Faulkner as being on the floor of the More Chapel, are not now visible. A tablet on the south wall of the chancel to the memory of Charles, son of Philip Miller, the Botanist, will be noticed in the next chapter.

The following Hatchments are enumerated by Mr. Walter Rye in a paper contributed to vol. iv. of the "Herald and Genealogist." Only those marked by an asterisk now remain.

*1. Cadogan (as hereafter, No. 11) impaling argent, a fret gules, for Blake. With crest supporters and motto, *Qui invidet minor est.* (Dexter side shaded.) For George, 3rd Earl Cadogan, who died in 1864, having married Louisa Honoria Blake, sister to Joseph Henry, first Baron Wallscourt.

*2. Sable, a chevron between doves, argent; impaling, gules a chevron argent between 3 lions rampant, or. Crest, over an esquire's helmet, a dove, argent. Motto: *In coelo quies.* (Dexter side shaded.)

3. Argent, a bear salient, sable: impaling, gules a chevron argent. (Sinister side shaded.)

4. Quarterly 1 & 4 argent, a fess gules, in chief a bar indented of the second for Hatchett. 2 & 3 gules, 6 cross-crosslets or, 2, 1, 1 & 2, between two flanches argent. An escutcheon of pretence per pale or and azure 3 chevronels counterchanged. Crest, on a wreath, a leopard passant proper. (All shaded.) For Charles Hatchett, Esq., F.R.S., who lived in Bellevue House, Beaufort Street.

5. Same as last, without the crest. (Sinister side shaded.)

*6. As No. 9 hereafter, but the arms in a lozenge, without crest or motto. Background all black.

7. Azure, 3 fish haurient, or, on an inescutcheon argent, on a chevron gules, 3 lions rampant, or. Crest: A dexter hand, cuffed, holding a scimitar. Motto: *Resurgam.* (Sinister side shaded.)

8. Per bend sinister ermine and ermines, a lion rampant, or, for Edwards: impaling gules a chevron between 2 mullets in chief and a crescent in base or, on a chief azure 3 mullets. Crest, on a wreath: A man's head in profile, helmeted proper. Motto: *A vinno dew Derwid.* (Dexter side shaded.)

9. Quarterly 1 & 4 azure on a bend engrailed or, 3 martlets gules for Dawson. 2 & 3 azure 3 torches erect sable inflamed gules. On an escutcheon of pretence argent a chevron sable, in chief a bar engrailed gules, for Freame. Crest: An estoile of six points or. supporters. Dexter an Irish wolf-dog. Sinister an elk, both proper. Collared and chained, or. Motto: *Toujours propice.* (Dexter side shaded.) For Thomas Viscount Cremorne, who died in 1813, having

married for his second wife Philadelphia Hannah, only daughter of Thomas Freame of Philadelphia. (See No. 6.)

10. Argent on a chief or a raven proper: impaling paly of 5 argent and sable on a chief gules. . . . (Sinister side shaded.)

*11. Quarterly 1 & 4 gules a lion rampant regardant argent: 2 & 3 argent 3 boars' heads couped sable for Cadogan: impaling quarterly 1 & 4 argent a pale gules on a chief sable 3 escallop shells: a mullet for difference. 2 & 3 argent a fess checky, in chief a chevron gules. Crest, out of a coronet or a dragon's head vert. Motto: *Christ the hope of glory.* (Dexter side shaded.) For the Hon. and Rev. William Bromley Cadogan.

12. Sable 3 lions passant in bend between 2 bendlets, and in chief a griffin's head erased argent: impaling sable a fess ermine. Crest: A swan's head couped argent gorged with a coronet or. Motto: *Resurgam.* (Dexter side shaded.)

CHAPTER XIV

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCHYARD

AMONGST the papers in the muniment room at the new church is a plan, dated November 1820, and inscribed, "A Sketch of the Churchyard of St. Luke's, Chelsea, with figures of reference to the collection of inscriptions, showing the situation of the stones." It is much to be regretted that this collection is lost. The plan is numbered up to 130, but such is the present condition of the churchyard that I am unable to account for more than a dozen or two complete inscriptions. Should the Trustees at any time think fit to put the churchyard in a decent state, a good many slabs which are now, as I know, buried, could be brought to light: but, as it is, it is useless to attempt an exhaustive account of the epitaphs, and I must be content to notice the more interesting amongst those which are still legible, or of which there exist records elsewhere. The monuments in the burying-ground in the King's Road, consecrated in 1736, I shall not here attempt to notice.

Lysons mentions the following tombs as being in the churchyard (in 1795), in addition to those that I shall notice presently:

1698. Thomas Tilford.

(no date) Thomas Allstone, Esq., of the County of Suffolk.

(no date) S. Pattison, architect.

1692. Samuel Forest.

1702. Christopher Cratford, Gent.

This tomb, a cenotaph, is still in existence, standing to the north-east of the Lawrence Chapel. The name is all that is now decipherable of the inscription.

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCHYARD 255

- 1704. Flora, daughter of Henry Butts, gent.
- 1712. Robert Butler, Esq. (see chap. xv.).
- 1723. Mrs. Methuen.
 " Arms, arg. 3 wolves' heads erased proper, two and one."
- 1723. Thomas Bowes, M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Mathematics at Aberdeen.
- 1726. Clayton Milbourne, Esq.
- 1731. Catherine, wife of Joseph Biscoe, Esq.
 "Against the north wall of the Church. Arms, arg. 3 greyhounds current in pale sab. impaling a lion ramp. in base ; in chief 3 escallops : not blazoned."
- 1731. Mr. Andrew Churchill.
- 1732. William Moncrieff, Professor of Humanity at St. Andrews.
- 1740. Major General John Cavallier (see chap. xv.).
- 1743. Mr. Alexander Reid.
- 1753. Joanna, wife of Christopher Rhodes, Esq., and daughter of Sir Oliver Butler.
- 1755. Sarah, wife of Francis Eyre.
- 1773. Mrs. Mary Agnes Smith.
- 1774. Mary Emilia, wife of the Rev. David Williams (see chap. xv.).
- 1778. Martha, widow of Colonel John Cottrell.
- 1779. William Rush, Esq.
- 1787. Major George Henderson, of the 13th Regt. of Foot.
- 1789. Miss Mary Hall Stanton, of Barbadoes.
- 1790. Charlwood Lawton, Esq.
- 1791. Mary, wife of John Haynes, Esq.

Faulkner, in 1829, repeats Lysons' list, omitting the names of Tilford and Pattison, and adding the following :

- 1796. Wm. J. Tullock of Turnham Green, 1796.
- 1798. Nov. 22. Mrs. Sarah Howell, aged 48, and Mr. James Howell, her husband, 2 Feby. 1810, aged 64.

1801. Dec. 27. Thomas Simpkin, aged 53, and Elizabeth Simpkin, Jan. 12, 1826, aged 77.
1822. July 11. Catherine Long, aged 56, and Thomas Long, Oct. 29, 1827, aged 66.
1781. August. Charity Adams, aged 32, and Nicholas Adams, her husband, 7 June, 1787, aged 78.
1813. Jane Hill, 28 May, aged 72, and Edward Hill, 23 Dec. 1816, aged 77.
1820. Jan. 27. John Ludlow, aged 22.

HENRY SAMPSON WOODFALL

Lysons gives the following inscription from a gravestone in the churchyard, which, says Faulkner, was removed to make room for the obelisk erected to Philip Miller, mentioned above.

“ Sacred to the memory of Henry Sampson Woodfall, Esq., many years an eminent printer in London, who departed this life Dec. 12, 1805, aged 66, a gentleman of a liberal mind and education, the associate and patron of many distinguished and literary characters of the last age, and exemplary in the discharge of the duties of husband, father and friend.”

A slab of stone has recently been affixed to the outside of the east wall of the chancel, with an inscription commemorating Woodfall. He was buried on the 19th December 1805.

FAMILY OF CHAMBERLAYNE.

“ Against the South wall of the Church,” says Lysons, “ on the outside, are the monuments of several of the family of Chamberlayne, for the erecting of which, and making a vault, Dr. Chamberlayne obtained a grant from the Parish in the year 1694, in consideration of a benefaction which will be mentioned hereafter: he himself was buried there in 1703.”

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCHYARD 257

Dr. Edward Chamberlayne, born in the year 1616, was the son of Thomas Chamberlayne, of Oddington, Gloucestershire, and grandson of Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, the Ambassador, who is said to have first introduced coaches and watches into this country. After leaving Oxford, where he graduated in 1638, and was afterwards appointed Rhetorical Reader, he travelled on the Continent, only returning to England at the Restoration. He was soon appointed Secretary to Lord Carlisle, whom he accompanied to Stockholm to invest the King of Sweden with the Order of the Garter. He was subsequently granted the degrees of LL.D. at Cambridge and D.C.L. at Oxford, and became tutor to the Duke of Grafton, and afterwards to Prince George of Denmark. He was one of the earliest fellows of the Royal Society. He was buried on the 27th May 1703.

The inscription on the monument is as follows : *

1708.
POSTERITATI
SACRUM
MORE MAJORUM
EXTRA URBIS POMÆRIA
JUXTA VIAM PUBLICAM
IN TUMULO EDITIORE
HEIC PROPE INHUMARI VOLUIT
EDVARDUS CHAMBERLAYNE
ANGLUS, CHRISTICOLA, LEGUM DOCTOR,
EX ANTIQUA COMITIS TANQUERVILLÆ
PROSAPIA NORMANICA ORIUNDUS
ODINGTONIÆ NATUS 1616:
GLOCESTRÆ GRAMMATICA
OXONII JURISPRUDENTIA
LONDINI HUMANITATE
IMBUTUS FUIT.
PER GALLIAM, HISPANIAM, ITALIAM, HUNGARIAM,
BOHEMIAM, UTRAMQUE GERMANIAM, DANIAM,
ET SUECIAM
MIGRAVIT.
SUSANNAM CLIFFORD, EX EQUESTRI FAMILIA PROGNOTAM

* All the Chamberlayne inscriptions were recut some ten years ago ; they are given here from Lysons and Faulkner.

CHELSEA OLD CHURCH

IN MATRIMONIUM DUXIT 1658.
 NOVEM LIBEROS GENUIT, SEX LIBROS COMPOSUIT.
 TANDEM, 1703, IN TERRAM OBLIVIONIS
 SEMIGRAVIT.

BENEFACIENDI UNIVERSIS ETIAM ET POSTERIS
 ADEO STUDIOsus FUIT, UT SECUM CONDI
 JUSSERAT LIBROS ALIQUOT SUOS CERA OBVOLUTOS
 SERAE FORSAN POSTERITATI ALIQUANDO PROFUTUROS.

ABI VIATOR, FAC SIMILE
 DEUS TE SERVET INCOLUMEM.

HOC MONUMENTUM
 NON IMPUNE TEMERANDUM
 IN HONORIS JUXTA AC MÆRORIS TESTIMONIUM

PONI CURAVIT

GUAL. HARRIS

M. D.

AMICUS AMICO.

Faulkner prints the following translation of this :

"1703. Sacred to posterity ; after the custom of our ancestors, without the bounds of the city, and near the highway, in an elevated tomb near this place, Edward Chamberlayne desired to be buried, an English Gentleman, a Christian, and Doctor of Laws, descended from the ancient Norman family of the Earls of Tanquerville. He was born at Oddington, 1616 ; educated at Gloucester ; studied the Civil Law at Oxford, and the liberal Sciences in London. He travelled through France, Spain, Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Upper and Lower Germany, Denmark, and Sweden. He married, in 1658, Susanna Clifford, of a noble family. He had nine children, and wrote six books. At length, in 1703, he departed into the land of Oblivion. He was so studious of doing good to all men, and especially to posterity, that he ordered some of his books covered with wax to be buried with him, which may be of use in times to come. God preserve thee, O traveller ! go, and imitate him. This monument, not to be violated with impunity, his friend, Walter Harris, Doctor of Physic, caused to be erected as a testimony both of his respect and grief."

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCHYARD 259

The titles of the six books mentioned in the epitaph are as follows :

1. *The Present War Paralleled ; or a brief relation of the five years' civil wars of Henry III. King of England, with the event and issue of that unnatural war, and by what course the kingdom was then settled again ; extracted out of the most authentic historians and records, 1647.*

2. *England's Wants ; or several proposals, probably beneficial for England, offered to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament, 1667.*

3. *The Converted Presbyterian ; or the Church of England justified in some Practices, &c., 1668.*

4. *Angliæ Notitia, or the Present State of England ; with divers reflections on the ancient state thereof, 1668.* This was his best known work : it went through thirty-eight editions. His son John superintended this work after his father's death, and his name is prefixed to the latter editions.

5. *An Academy or College, wherein Young Ladies or Gentlewomen may, at a very moderate expence, be educated in the true Protestant Religion, and in all virtuous qualities that may adorn that sex, &c., 1671.*

6. *A Dialogue between an Englishman and a Dutchman, concerning the last Dutch War, 1672.*

Faulkner quotes an order of the Vestry, dated 23 Nov. 1737, "that the Churchwardens do please to obtain a Faculty for opening the late Dr. Chamberlayne's tomb ;" but there is no record of its having been carried out. "But some years since," Faulkner says (writing in 1829), "the tomb yielded to the injuries of time, against which it must have been long contending : and on examination it was discovered that the damp and moisture admitted by the gradual decay had totally obliterated every appearance of them : his seal with his arms, however, was still perfect, and is in the possession of the present writer."

On another slab is the following epitaph to his widow :—

Near this place, in a vault belonging to the family, lies interred the body of Susannah Chamberlayne, late widow of Edward Chamberlayne and only daughter of Richard Clifford, Esq., descended from the ancient and noble family of the Cliffords, lords of Frampton in the county of Gloucester, aged 69 years and 3 months. She dyed the 17 of December, in the year of Our Lord 1703.

Arms.—Gules, an inescutcheon arg. within an orle of cinque foils or, for Chamberlayne of Oddington, quartering a chevron between three escallops for Chamberlayne of Oxfordshire, and impaling checky or and az. on a bend gules, three lioncels ramp. of the first, for Clifford of Frampton.

There are other slabs commemorating some of the children, with these inscriptions :

POSTERITATI SACRUM
 HIC JUXTA SITUS EST PEREGRINUS CLIFFORD
 CHAMBERLAYNE DUX MARINUS FILIUS NATU
 MAXIMUS EDVARDI CHAMBERLAYNE
 LEGUM DOCTORIS
 NATUS FUIT HAGÆ COMITIS 22^a JAN. 1660
 QUI TUM LINGUIS SCIENTIIS LIBERALIBUS
 STUDIO LEGUM MUNICIPALIUM ARTIBUS
 PINGENDI, PSALLENDI, DIGLADIANDI, MODULANDI
 TERRAS ET REGIONES DIMETIENDI
 SED PRAE OMNIBUS OPERAM NAVIGANDI DEDISSET
 QUATUOR MUNDI PLAGAS LUSTRASSET, REGI
 PATRIÆ FIDELITER AC STRENUE CONTRA GALLOS
 ET INDOS MERUISSET, HEU PRÆMATURE IN
 TERRAS OBLIVIONIS SEMIGRAVIT
 6. NOVEM. 1691.
 HOC MOMENTUM NON IMPUNE TEMERANDUM
 PONI CURAVIT MÆRENS PATER.

“ Sacred to Posterity, near this place lies interred, Peregrine Clifford Chamberlayne, a naval officer, eldest son of Edward Chamberlayne, Doctor of Laws, born at the Hague, Jan. 22, 1660 ; who was well skilled in the learned languages and liberal sciences ; also in municipal law ; but especially in Navigation. He visited the four parts of the world ; and, after having deserved well both of his King and Country, by fighting valiantly against the French and Indians, he died the sixth of November 1691. This monument, not to be violated with impunity, his sorrowful father caused to be erected ” (Faulkner).

In the third part of “ Miscellany Poems,” published by Tonson in 1693, is an adaptation of Horace’s 4th ode of the 2nd Book, by

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCHYARD 261

Yalden, "To his friend Captain Chamberline in love with a lady he had taken in an Algerine Prize at Sea," which may refer to our Peregrine.

HIC JUXTA IN CONDITORIO DEPONITUR
EDVARDUS CHAMBERLAYNE FILIUS NATU MINIMUS
EDV. CHAMBERLAYNE LL.D.^{RIS} QUI IN SCHOLA WESTMON.
POSTEA IN ACADEM. OXON, DEINDE IN COL. TEMPLI
INTERIORIS LOND.
EDUCATUS, TANDEM PROREGE ET PATRIA CONTRA GALLOS PER MARE
MERERI MALUIT UBI PER SEPTENNIIUM VITAM AGENS MARINAM
CUM DEMUM FATALE PLEURITIDE INTRA QUATRIDIUM ABREPTUS
FUIT
OPTIMÆ SPEI JUVENIS, NATUS NONO KAL. OCTOB.
M.D.C.LXIX. DENATUS PRIDIE IDUS
MAII M.DC.XCVII.
HOC MONUMENTUM NON IMPUNE TEMERANDUM PONI
CURAVIT MÆRENS PATER.

"Near this place, in a vault, is buried Edward Chamberlayne, youngest son of Edward Chamberlayne, Doctor of Laws, who was first educated at Westminster School, afterwards at the University of Oxford, and lastly in the Inner Temple, London. At length he preferred the service of his King and Country, and after seven years being seized by a fatal pleurisy, he died in four days; a youth of great promise. He was born the 23rd of September 1669, and died the 14th of May 1697. This monument his sorrowful father ordered to be erected" (Faulkner).

HIC JUXTA IN CONDITORIO JACET ANNA,
EDVARDI CHAMBERLAYNE, LL.D. FILIA UNICA,
LONDINI NATA XX^o JANUARI, 1667.
QUÆ DIU SPRETO CONNUBIO, MAGNAQUE
SUPRA SEXUM ET ÆTATEM MOLIENS
XXX^o JUNII, 1690,
CONTRA FRANCIGENAS ARMIS HABITUQUE VIRILI,
IN RATE FLAMMIFERA SEX HORAS SUB DUCE FRATRE
PUGNAVIT, DUM VIRGO FUIT; DUM CASTA VIRAGO,
HEROUM POTERAT STIRPEM GENERARE MARINAM,
NI PRAEMATURIS FATIS ABREPTA FUISSET.
REDUX AB ISTA NAVALI PUGNA, AC POST ALIQUOT MENSES NUPTA

JOANNI SPRAGGE, ARMIGERO,
 QUOCUM VIXIT AMANTISSIME SESQUIANNUM; TANDEM, ENIXA
 FILIAM, POST PAUCOS DIES OBIIT, XXX^o OCTOBRIS, 1692.
 HOC MONUMENTUM UXORI CHARISSIMÆ, NEC NON
 PUDICISSIMÆ, PONI CURAVIT MARITUS
 MÆSTISSIMUS.

"In a vault, hard by, lieth Anne, sole daughter of Edward Chamberlayne, LL.D., born in London 20th January 1667; who long declining wedlock, and aspiring above her sex and age, fought under her brother, with arms and manly attire, in a fireship, against the French, for six hours, on the 30th June 1690; a maiden heroine! Had life been granted, she might have borne a race of naval warriors. Returning from that sea engagement, and within some months marrying John Spragg, Esq., with whom she lived very affectionately eighteen months, at last, giving birth to a daughter, she died a few days after, on the 30th October 1692. Her sorrowful husband raised this monument to a most chaste and much-beloved wife" (Faulkner).

M. S.
 IN A VAULT NEAR THIS PLACE
 LIES THE BODY OF
 JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE, ESQ. F.R.S.
 SOME TIME GENT. WAITER TO
 PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK; GENT. OF THE PRIVY CHAMBER
 TO QUEEN ANNE AND TO KING GEORGE.
 HE WAS GIVEN TO HOSPITALITY
 AND DOING GOOD OFFICES, ESPECIALLY TO FOREIGNERS.
 IN HOPES OF
 A GLORIOUS ETERNITY, HE LEFT THIS MORTAL STATE,
 NOV. 2, 1728, AGED 57.

John Chamberlayne, as above mentioned, continued his father's "Present State of England," besides publishing several translations and original works, namely, "The Manner of making Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate," "Dissertations, &c., of the most memorable events of the Old and New Testaments," and "The Lord's Prayer in 100 languages."

The following letter to Sir Hans Sloane concerning this last, is amongst the Sloane MSS. at the British Museum (4041):

MONUMENTS' IN THE CHURCHYARD 263

Petty France 4 Feby. 1708/9 (*sic*)

WORTHY S^r

Having made a pritty good collection of Bibles in most of the Modern Tongues in which they have been ever publisht, that naturally lead me into the Design of procuring as many Versions of the Lords Prayer as I was able ; and I am the more incouraged to proceed in that Design first because I think it has been very indifferently perform'd already, and secondly because I flatter myself that by the general correspondence I have in most parts of the world, especially in the W. Indies and by the help of my learned Friends &c. I shall be able to do it much better than it has been yet don. S^r you are one of those Friends I mean, and upon whom I mostly count, your Ability I doubt not, and your Candor I know so wel, that I am bold to ask you what help you wil give in this affair to worthy S^r

Your most humble servant,

JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE.

Under Dr. Edward Chamberlayne's monument is a small tablet, described by Faulkner as "a marble medallion, supported by angels, executed by Rossi, who has here produced a pleasing specimen of his superior skill," with this inscription :

"In remembrance of Elizabeth, relict of Thomas Tyndale, late of North Cerney, in the County of Gloucester, Esquire, who died 23rd day of March 1821, aged 87 years, and is buried in a vault beneath, belonging to the family of the Chamberlaynes, of whom she was a descendant."

Upon the west wall of the church, on the south side of the Tower, is another tablet with this inscription :

"Sacred to the Memory of Anne Catharine Phelps, relict of Samuel Phelps, Esq^r, who died on the 30th of June 1849, aged 73 years. Her remains, with those of her mother, Elizabeth Tyndale, lie beneath in the family vault of the Chamberlains (*sic*) of whom they were descendants. This tablet is erected by her sorrowing daughter as a testimony of their grateful love and esteem."

PHILIP MILLER

Near the North East corner of the Churchyard is an obelisk, set upon a round plinth or base which is thus inscribed :

PHILIP MILLER

Sometime Curator of the Botanic Garden,
CHELSEA,

and Author of the Gardener's Dictionary,

Died December 18th. 1771, aged 80,

and was buried on the north side of

This church-yard

In a spot now covered by
a stone inscribed with his name.

The Fellows of
The Linnæan and Horticultural Societies
of London

In grateful recollection of
The eminent services rendered to
The Sciences of Botany and Horticulture
By his Industry and Writings,
Have caused this Monument to be
Erected to his Memory,

A.D. 1815.

From Henry Field's "Memoirs of the Botanick Garden," published in 1820, I gather that Philip Miller was appointed Gardener in the year 1722. His biographers, says Field, "say that he succeeded his father in this office. What their authority for this assertion is, does not appear. The records of this [the Apothecaries'] Society are silent upon the subject ; it is therefore not improbably a mistake."

The next we hear of Miller at Chelsea is in 1761, when a memorial was presented by him "requesting the Society to build him a dwelling in the garden. In consequence of this memorial Dr. Wilmer and Mr. Miller were desired to procure a proper habitation for the latter and his family, until the Court should be able to give a more

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCHYARD 265

satisfactory answer. What steps of a more permanent nature were taken upon this business cannot at present be known."

In 1767 Mr. Miller presented another memorial "setting forth his services from the time of his appointment in 1722 to that period : and also the various expenses he had incurred for the improvement of the garden for which he had never been indemnified, amounting to £62 and that his present expenses were such as to consume the whole of his salary." An account rendered by him shows that he received £50 yearly from the Society, and the amount "taken at the gate for showing the garden." "And from the inclemency of the season," he says, "I have not received 4s. per week on an average since Christmas last."

In 1770 he had some difference of opinion with a Committee appointed to make an inventory of the plants, &c., and he resigned. "It is greatly to be lamented," says Field, "that the last years of the services of this eminent Botanist, which had continued almost half a century, should be shadowed by the dissatisfaction which subsisted between the Society and him in the affairs of the garden. On his part it may have arisen solely from the imbecility and peevishness consequent upon his great age; and on the part of the Committee from too great anxiety for the success of the garden, influencing them to less forbearance with respect to those infirmities than they would otherwise have considered him entitled to. Under these circumstances his resignation was highly commendable, and the grant to him of a pension of £50 annually appears to have produced on both sides a cordial reconciliation."

Miller was born in or near London in 1691. The first edition of his great work, "The Gardener's Dictionary," was published in 1731, the 8th and last edition during his lifetime in 1768. It has been translated into Dutch, German, and French, and earned for the author the title of "Hortulanorum Princeps." He was elected Member of the Botanic Academy at Florence, and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Miller married the sister of Ehret, the botanic painter, and had two sons, Philip and Charles. The former died in the East Indies. The latter was educated at Chelsea, and was appointed by Dr. Walker,

who had founded the Botanic Garden at Cambridge, his first Curator. After some years he also went to the East Indies, and returned with an ample fortune. He died the 6th Oct. 1817, aged 78, and was buried at Chelsea in the same grave with his father. A tablet on the south wall of the chancel commemorates him with this inscription :

To the Memory of Charles Miller Esquire formerly of Fort Marlborough Bencoolon only son of Philip Miller Esq' (author of the Gardener's Dictionary) He died October 6th 1817 Aged 78 years and was buried in the same grave with his father on the north side of this church. This tablet was placed here by desire of Edward Layton Esq' who married his only daughter.

Mary, a daughter of Philip Miller, was buried at Chelsea on the 23rd April 1732.

ROBERT WOODCOCK

Against the North wall of the Churchyard stands a handsome monument with this inscription carved upon a slab of black touch :

Near this place under a stone
With his name on it lyes
interr'd the body of Robert
Woodcock Gent who was
born at Upton near
Gloucester on the 30th of September
1642 and departed this life at
Chelsey the 4th of April 1710.

In his will, Mr. Woodcock leaves his house in Church Lane to his wife Deborah for her life, remainder to his son Robert. He also mentions his daughter Deborah, and his sons-in-law Richard Smyth and John Freak ; and his loving friend Dr. John King, Rector of Chelsea.

His son Robert was baptized October 9th 1690, and buried 15 April 1728 at Chelsea. Walpole says of him that "he became a painter by genius and inclination. He had a place under government, which he quitted to devote himself to his art, which he practised

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCHYARD 267

solely on sea pieces. He drew in that way from his childhood, and studied the technical part of ships with so much attention that he could cut out a ship with all the masts and rigging to the utmost exactness . . . the Duke of Chandos gave him thirty guineas for one of his pieces. Nor was his talent for music less remarkable. He both played on the hautboy and composed, and some of his compositions in several parts were published. But these promising abilities were cut off ere they had reached their maturity, by that enemy of the ingenious and sedentary, the gout"

Deborah Woodcock was buried at Chelsea on the 17 May 1722

Anne, "daughter of Robert Woodcock" 3 Nov. 1724.

"Robert, son of Robert Woodcock gent" on the 26 June 1727.

Mrs. Deborah Woodcock, widow, was buried 17 June 1730.

Mention has already been made of "Mr. Woodcock's gallery" in the chancel which was doubtless erected for the use of his pupils. He kept a school at Shrewsbury House (see chap. xv.).

SIR JOHN MUNDEN

Lysons mentions a monument to Sir John on the north side of the churchyard ; but no trace of it now remains. It is referred to in the sketch of the churchyard above mentioned, as standing against the north wall, between the Pennant and Woodcock monuments, with this note : "Here stood Sir John Munden's monument which was similar to the monuments of Pennant and Woodcock being stone tablets with carved arches at the top. The last arch remaining was that on Woodcock's, but this fell down in March 1820."

The Munden family seems to have overspread Chelsea during the earlier half of the seventeenth century. There are so many Mundens buried in the Church and churchyard, that to assign to all of them their proper places in a family tree is a task beyond me. I will only therefore take notice of those about whom anything is known for certain.

The earliest mention of the name in Chelsea is an entry in the

register of the marriage of Thomas Munden and Amy Collins in the year 1561. In 1573 was baptized Robert, son of Thomas Munden, and from 1598 to 1613 seven sons and two daughters of Robert Munden were baptized, amongst whom was Richard, born 1602, who married, in 1628, Elizabeth Vaughan.

This brings us on to more certain ground; for Le Neve, in the Pedigrees of the Knights, mentions receiving his account of Sir John Munden "from his own mouth," and he gives the following note of the inscription on the tomb of Richard Munden, who was buried at Chelsea as "Richard Munden Senior" in 1672. He states that he "was born in this town in 1602 and dyed in the same in the year 1672 and is here buried": adding this note, evidently from the epitaph, "... here lyeth buried Eliza Munden wife of the said Richard Munden, who was born the 27th day of November A^o. Dⁿⁱ 1608 and buried the 26th June 1694 anno aetatis suae 86. . . ." Lysons mentions this tomb as being in the churchyard, but no trace of it now remains. Le Neve calls this Richard Munden "the ferriemen at Chelsey," and states that Sir John Munden was his younger son, Sir Richard Munden Kt. being the elder.

Sir Richard Munden is described in the Allegation for his marriage licence, in the year 1668, as "of Chelsey, Mariner, Bachelor, about 30"; his wife being Susanna Gore of Leigh, Sussex, who survived him, and married Albert Smith of Grays Inn. Sir Richard died in the year 1680, and was buried at Bromley, Middlesex, where there is a monument to him. He left a son Richard, born posthumously, and five daughters.

Sir John Munden, Rear Admiral of the King's Fleet, says Le Neve, "was knighted on board the William and Mary Yacht under the standard of England on the first of July, 1701 . . . he hath a right to arms. Sir Richard Munden was his brother, whose widow got a grant to her husband Sir Richard's children, and to her husband's brother Sir John about the year 1680. . . ." The arms are:—Per pale gules and sable, on a cross engrailed arg. 5 lozenges, az. on a chief or, 3 eagles' legs erased sable, on a canton ermine an anchor or, Crest in a rostrall crown or, a leopards head sable bezantee.

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCHYARD 269

The arms of Donaldson (?) with the Ulster canton, impaling the above, appear in a drawing of one of the hatchments which were formerly in the Church, in a Portfolio at the Public Library.

A full account of Sir John Munden will be found in Charnock's "Naval Biography." He served under his brother in the Mediterranean from 1677 to 1680. In 1692, at the battle of Barfleur, he commanded the *Lennox* in the van of the red squadron under the immediate orders of Sir Ralph Delavall. In 1702, being then Rear-Admiral of the Red, he commanded an expedition to intercept a French Squadron at Corunna; this he failed to do, and on his return he was tried by Court Martial. He was fully acquitted; but the Government, yielding apparently to popular clamour, ordered his discharge from the service. He returned thereupon to Chelsea, and died there, unmarried, in 1719.

In his will, dated 20 Sept. 1717, he leaves his leasehold house in Chelsea to his sister Elizabeth, who was married to Robert Mason at Chelsea in 1671; the bulk of his estate going to his nephew Brigadier Richard Munden—probably the posthumous child of Sir Richard. His sister's daughter Elizabeth, it appears, was married to Captain Francis Vaughan.

Sir John was the first owner of the corner site in Cheyne Row, on which stood "Orange House," demolished in 1894, to give place to the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer. The following is the substance of its description in the conveyance from William Lord Cheyne to Sir John, which is dated 16 May 1711:

Piece of ground being part of the manor situate at the north end of a certain row of buildings called Cheyne Row and part or parcel of ground called the Bowling Green now or late in the possession of Captain Richard Griffiths and afterwards of Matthias Fowler, Vintner. Containing in length from the glebe land there, east to west, 125 ft. and in breadth, south to north, 38 ft. at the west and 33 ft. at the east side. Abutting south on a new messuage and garden wall built by Francis Cook, gardener on other part of the said ground belonging to Cheyne called the bowling green, and sold to him by Cheyne. On the north on other part of the said bowling green intended to be laid out in a 22-ft. way to and from the coach house stables &c., intended to be built on the north side of the said way. West on ground 30 ft. broad laid out by Cheyne for a way only to and from the houses stables coach houses &c. built and intended to be built on the ground now or late belonging to Cheyne, and to and from any churchyard hereafter to be taken out of or from any part of the glebe land for a churchyard or

common burial place into the public highway by the river Thames and the way there through Lordship Yard, and East upon the glebe land there. Also use in common of the said ways, and liberty to make a drain to the river.

JOHN PENNANT

Against the north wall of the churchyard is the monument of John Pennant, erected by his wife, whose affection, says Faulkner, provided the following epitaph:

Near this place, under a stone, with his name on it,
 lyes the body of John Pennant, Gent., 2nd son of David
 Pennant of Bingham in the County of Flint, Esq.,
 Who departed this life y^e 5 day of June 1709, aged 69.
 To whose memory this monument was erected by
 his mournful widow, who desires to be
 interred in the same grave.

Had virtue in perfection power to save
 The best of men from the devouring grave,
 Pennant had liv'd ; but 'tis in vain to flie
 The fatal stroke, when all are doomed to die.
 Farewell, lov'd spouse, since want of words appears
 T'express my grief, I'll mourn thy loss in tears ;
 Which, like Nile's cataracts, shall tumble down,
 And with their briny streams my passions drown.
 Here may thy ashes undisturbed remain
 Till thy wife's dust revisits thee again ;
 Then sacred quiet to the day of doom
 Seal the inclosure of our catacomb.

Arms.—3 bars wavy, on the centre 3 martlets, not blazoned. Lysons notes that this coat was an ancient quartering of Pennant; and that the deceased "was of the same family as Thomas Pennant, Esq., of Downing, whose name is so well known in the literary world."

The epitaph is mentioned in Pennant's "History of Whitford and Holywell," p. 16.

CHAPTER XV

NOTES ON THE PARISH REGISTERS

SEEING that a transcript of the whole of the Registers, from their commencement in 1559, would require far more space than is now at my disposal, I propose in this my last chapter to include a few notes upon some entries which have not already been quoted in the preceding chapters. For the most part these relate to individuals who have no particular connection with the parish ; but there are several of the older houses in the villages which I have left unnoticed till now, such as Shrewsbury House, the Arch House, The Magpie, and Evans' Farm, whose only claim to be mentioned in a book on the Church is an entry or two in the Registers, but which are of too great interest to be altogether omitted.

SHREWSBURY HOUSE

"Shrewsbury or Alston House," says Faulkner, "a capital mansion, built about the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII., was situate in Cheyne Walk, adjoining the garden of Winchester Palace, on the west. . . . It was an irregular brick building, forming three sides of a quadrangle. The principal room was 120 feet in length, and was originally wainscoted with carved oak. One of the rooms was painted in imitation of marble, and appeared to have been originally an oratory. . . . Since the publication of the first edition of this work [*i.e.*, between 1810 and 1829] this venerable mansion, which had adorned the 'Village of Palaces' for several ages, has been pulled down entirely. In 1813 the materials were sold piecemeal by

a speculating builder, who had obtained possession; and now not a stone remains to show where it once stood."

Although Faulkner speaks as an eye-witness, he is not quite accurate about the site of this house; for it is quite clear that "The Magpie" stood between it and Winchester Palace. The western boundary of Shrewsbury House was 66 ft. east of the house at the corner of Cheyne Row, formerly called "The Feathers" or "The Prince's Arms"; the intervening space being originally occupied by another tavern called "The Three Tuns," belonging to the Manor, which was pulled down some time before 1711 (Middx. Regy. 1711, March 26, Clarkson to Turton).

As to the date of its foundation, Faulkner is also mistaken, as there is a record of Shrewsbury's residence in Chelsea as early as 1519 (Brewer's State Papers, vol. iii.). In a list of freehold tenants of the Manor in a Court Roll of 1543, at the Public Record Office, Francis Earl of Shrewsbury is mentioned, but beyond this nothing is heard of the house until after the death of "Bess of Hardwick," who devised her estates to William Earl of Devonshire. His widow, says Faulkner, "continued to reside at Chelsea till her death, which happened in 1643, as appears by the parish books, in which are also entries of the burials of some of her domestics."

During the latter part of the seventeenth century, the house was occupied by the family of Alston. Sir Joseph Alston, "knight," was buried here on the 31st May 1688. It is stated in Wooton's Baronetage that he was the son of Edward Alston, of Edwardston, Suffolk. His wife, Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Mr. Crookenburg, a Dutch Merchant, brought her husband a portion of £12,000. She was buried here on the 7th February 1670-1, her funeral sermon being preached by Dr. Adam Littleton, and subsequently printed. "Above all," says the preacher, concluding a catalogue of her virtues, "her humility was remarkable; for she had that which Saint Peter advises grave matrons to put on, the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God, and of good men too, of great price: and this she preferred before all the gawdy attire which others of her sex, especially of her fortune, use to adorn themselves withal. In a word, as she expressed

NOTES ON THE PARISH REGISTERS 273

the vertues of the other sister in her domestick cares so I doubt not but she minded the one thing necessary too, and with Mary in the Gospel chose that better part, which shall not be taken from her."

Other entries relating to this family are these :

BAPTIZED.

- 15 Aug., 1659. Benjamin, son of Mr. Joseph Alston.
- 11 May, 1661. Mary, daughter of Mr. Joseph Alston.
- 21 June, 1663. Mary, daughter of Mr. Joseph Alston.
- 10 Feb., 1673-4. Ann, daughter of Mr. Isaac Alston.
- 31 May, 1675. Joseph, son of Mr. Isaac Alston.
- 9 Dec., 1676. Joseph, son of Mr. Isaac Alston.

BURIED.

- May 21, 1658. Samuel, son of Mr. Joseph Alston.
- June 22, 1663. Mary, daughter of Mr. Joseph Alston.
- Oct. 22, 1675. Joseph, son of Mr. Isaac Alston.
- Feb. 18, 1675-6. Ann, daughter of Mr. Isaac Alston.
- Jan. 26, 1688-9. Mr. Issac Alston.
- March 2, 1693-4. Mrs. Sarah Alston.

The next owner of Shrewsbury House appears to have been Robert Butler, whose monument is mentioned in Lysons' list of those in the churchyard, but of which no trace now remains. It is described in his will, which was dated 26th July 1711, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on the 29th December 1712, as "the house and gardens [&c.] wherein Mr. Woodcock now dwells and the coachhouse stables [&c.] rented of me by Mr. Bates lately deceased and the rooms rented of me by Captain Jenkins being part of the said house of Mr. Woodcock's." It was devised to his son Edward (after a life estate to his wife) in fee simple, together with the right of common there. From this it appears that the main portion of it was used by Mr. Woodcock for his school, and the rest let out to lodgers.

Besides Shrewsbury House, Butler devised some freehold land in Chelsea, and bequeathed to his wife "my house in Paradise Row

wherein I now live." Another bequest to his son Edward is of interest as a link in the history of "Ormonde House," which is the subject of one of Mr. L'Estrange's most charming chapters in "The Village of Palaces," and which stood at the east end of Paradise Row. Whether or not it was in reality the retreat of the Duchess of Ormonde, I cannot be certain. In the will it is described as "my house in Paradise Row wherein Jermyn Wych Esq. now lives and wherein the late Countess of Bristol lived." In 1736 it was sold by Martha, widow of Robert Butler, and her son, Edward Butler, D.C.L., then president of Magdalen College, Oxford, to Sir Thomas Lombe, Knight and Alderman, for the remainder of a term of 61 years granted by Lord Cheyne to Thomas Hill, of Chelsea, mason, for 61 years, on the 12th May 1691. In this conveyance it is described as a piece of land 120 ft. from east to west, and 287 ft. from north to south, and the messuage or tenement, coach house, stables, wash house or brew house erected thereon; a description which indicates that Hill originally built it. (Middx. Regy. 10 Dec. 1736. Butler to Lombe.)

Robert Butler was buried "in a vault in the Churchyard" on the 19th Dec. 1712; and "Mrs. Martha Butler," presumably his widow, on the 10th May 1739. Afterwards, says Faulkner, Shrewsbury House came into the possession of Mr. Tate, and was occupied as a stained paper manufactory. An interesting letter written by Miss Elizabeth Gulston, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is printed by Faulkner, relating an interview with an old man who had worked as a lad in the factory, and remembered the discovery of a subterranean passage, leading northwards to the King's Road.

ARCH HOUSE

Amongst the four houses mentioned in Dr. King's letter (p. 85) as claiming to be Sir Thos. More's, is "that which was once Sir Reginald Bray's, at the Arch, which is now [1717] built into several tenements." A portion of this house, and of the arch which was demolished in 1871 to make way for the embankment, may be seen in

the frontispiece to this book, while the principal part of it stood at the south-west corner of Church Lane, extending northwards as far as to include the present "White Horse" Inn.

Its division at so early a date has no doubt contributed to obscure its earlier history; of which no satisfactory account has yet been offered. But some new data which I have discovered are enough, I hope, to justify the conjectures which I have added to them in the following paragraphs.

In 1733, Penelope, wife of Thomas Symonds, Elizabeth, Ann, and Mary Williams, the four sisters and coheiresses of William Williams, only son of Dame Mary, wife of Sir John Williams, Bart., and only daughter and heiress of Sir William Powell, alias Hinson, Bart., conveyed to Richard Coope, Esq., of London, together with a quantity of land in Fulham, the following premises in Chelsea:—All those four messuages or tenements (formerly one messuage) with the four stables and three gardens thereunto belonging situate in Chelsea, one of which said messuages was then or lately an Inn commonly called or known by the name of the White Horse Inn and the same four messuages did adjoin together and abut on the River Thames on the south, on a messuage in the tenure of Bryan Wade, gent., on the north on a lane or street called Church Lane on the east and on a messuage and garden ground in the tenure of John Ruberry, victualler, and — Humphrey, gent. on the west, which premises were formerly purchased of the Lady Baker and Thomas Fisher, and were then or late in the several tenures or occupations of Doctor Tristram, Sir Yelverton Peyton, Bart., Thomas Ansell, John Tully and Clifford Liveland. Also a pew in Chelsea Church. (Middlx. Regy. 1733, Bk. 5, No. 327.)

A pedigree of Powell given in Mr. Feret's recent history of Fulham shows that Sir William Powell, alias Hinson, who died in 1680, was the nephew of Sir Edward Powell, son of Edmund Powell of Fulham, and grandson of John Powell of Pengethley, co. Hereford. Hinson assumed the name of Powell in accordance with Sir Edward's will, under which he was principal devisee of the Fulham and Chelsea estates.

The fact that John Powell of Fulham bequeathed £10 to the poor

of Chelsea in 1600, coupled with the recital above mentioned of the Arch House being purchased from "Lady Baker and Thomas Fisher," inclines me to identify it with that which belonged to Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London, who died seized of it in 1596. For there were few houses in Chelsea at that date—certainly none in Paradise Row where Faulkner, for no known reason, supposes Fletcher to have resided—which were fit for a Bishop to entertain a Queen in, and Fletcher's widow—when one remembers Elizabeth's encounter with Mrs. Parker—might properly be described as Lady Baker—her former husband being Sir John. "Being Bishop of London and a widower," writes Sir John Harrington,* "he married a gallant lady and a widow, sister to Sir George Giffard, the Pensioner, which the Queen seemed to be extremely displeased at, not for the bigamy of a Bishop (for she was free from any such superstition) but out of her general dislike of Clergy mens marriage: this being indeed a marriage that was talked of at least nine days; yet in a while he found means to please her so well, as she promised to come, and I think did come to a house he had at Chelsey. For there was a stayre and a dore made of purpose for her, in a bay window, of which pleasant wits descanted diversly, some said that was for joy to show he would (as the proverb is) cast the house out at window for her welcome, some more bitinglly called it the impress or emblem of his entry into his first bishoprick namely, not at the door but at the window. But certain it is that (the Queen being pacified and he in great jollity with his faire lady and her carpets and cushions in his bedchamber) he died suddenly taking tobacco in his chair, saying to his man that stood by him whom he loved very well, oh boy I die. Whereupon many bolts were rove after him and some spitefully feathered which both for charity sake as well as brevity I will omit. . . ."

The first we hear of Fletcher in Chelsea is the burial of William Bloxwiche on the 23 Aug. 1592. He is described in his nuncupative will, which was proved by Fletcher on the 4th October following, as "servant and yeoman to Richard Bishop of Bristol." Being asked his

* "Brief View of the State of the Church"; written for Prince Henry, but not published till 1653.

intentions he answered: "I do leave all unto my lorde and to his disposing for I know he will stand good and lorde unto them."

In the same year, on the 15th October, Fletcher's daughter Maria was baptized at Chelsea, and in December following Elizabeth his first wife was buried, "in cancello subta mensa." In 1594 he was made Bishop of London, and during the two years following he made considerable improvements in the Palace. After his death, his eight children—amongst whom was John Fletcher the dramatist—were left in great poverty, and a petition was presented to the Queen on their behalf. Amongst the State Papers is a "Statement of the reason why Her Majesty is to be moved for compassion towards the orphans of the Bishop of London." (S. P. Dom. Eliz. vol. cclix. 47.) Another paper, amongst the additional MSS. at the British Museum (4133 fol. 266) after reciting his debts and assets, concludes, "except the house at Chelsey which because it cannot be sold but with great disadvantage because of the thirds claimed by the widow, our humble suit is that it may be stalled for the Queen's debt."

Nehemiah, son of Giles Fletcher, Doctor of Laws, was buried at Chelsea on the 12th June 1596.

In the "Articles and considerations" for repairing the Church in 1631, mentioned in chap. i. *supra*, are several paragraphs relating to the improvement of the river wall, one of which may afford a clue to the existence of the archway across the road. "Sir Edward Powell must likewise be moved either to cause y^e vault from his house which now passeth under y^e Church Wharfe to be carryed throughout y^e new wharfe or to admitt of some other course for accommodating the same which will not bee uneasy or unsatisfactory."

None of the Powells are buried at Chelsea, but the following entry in the burial register relates to the mother of Sir Edward's wife. "1636. The Ritte Honourable the Lady Wanlore was buried the last of Aprill." She was the wife of Sir Peter Vanlore.

Mr. Beaver mentions some interesting facts concerning the extraordinary proceedings of Sir Edward at Chelsea.

Tradition has identified this house as the residence of another

Bishop, namely Francis Atterbury ; but I can hardly find enough evidence to justify it. Faulkner mentions a presentment of the Manor Court amercing Francis Atterbury for not maintaining the river wall in front of his house, dated 5 July 1685. This must surely be a mistake for 1695, as the following entry, for the like offence, is dated 1696 : and Atterbury was at Oxford in 1685. He was in Chelsea again in 1711, when Swift lodged in Church Lane "over against Dr. Atterbury," and if he was tenant of this house for so long, it is curious that he is not mentioned in the conveyance I have quoted. There are one or two entries in the Register of the baptism of Atterbury's children, and several letters of his are dated from Chelsea.

EVAN'S FARM (CREMORNE HOUSE)

In 1524, Robert Fenrother, Alderman and Goldsmith, of London, made his will devising his lands in Chelsea to his wife Julian for her life, with remainder to Henry White, who had married his daughter Audrey (P.C.C. 19 Bodefelde). In 1543, Robert White sold his lands in Chelsea to the King, and in the year following, these lands and two houses thereon were included in a particular of the Manor on its assignment to Queen Catherine (see Appendix B). The same premises together with some more land were leased by the Crown to Thomas Evans by letters patent of the 19th December 29 Eliz., for 21 years ; and the lease was renewed in 1603 for 30 years from the expiration of the original term. (Pat. I. Jac. pt. 6.)

I have little hesitation, therefore, in identifying the "two messuages 40 acres of land and 7 lots in the West field," which were sold by White to the King, as "Evans' Farm" in respect of which there was a right of Common for 6 cows and 3 heifers : but there is some doubt as to where the two messuages were. In the first place I distrust Faulkner's identification of "Evans' Farm" with Mart's land, and am tolerably certain that, in his list, Mart and Sloane are wrongly placed for Evans' and Reynolds' Farm respectively. For the right of Common in Evans' Farm would rightly belong to Sloane ; not indeed as Lord of the Manor, but as successor in title

to Henry VIII. who bought the land from White: whereas there is no evidence of Reynolds' Farm (which I identify elsewhere with Hungerford's) having been acquired by Sloane or his predecessors. If this be so, "Evans' Farm" must be the "Farm in the Lordship Yard" mentioned in Dr. King's list; while the land was most probably the greater part of the "West Field" marked on Faulkner's map, which lay between the King's Road, Dartrey Road, Fulham Creek, and the Thames.

Of the house in Lordship Yard I can find no certain record, but in a conveyance of some parcels described as they were settled in 1675 by Lord Cheyne on his son, on his marriage (Mx. Regy. 1714.6.33) there is mentioned the "messuage situate at Hogg Gate together with 3 acres of arable land lying in the West field, formerly in the occupation of Widow Green, abutting North on the highway from Chelsea to Fulham, East on the way coming down to Hoggate, West on lands of John Harvest and South on the Thames." This is probably one of Evans' two messuages, and is certainly identical with the "tenement belonging to the Manor" mentioned in the conveyance of the old glebe land in 1566 (Faulkner, vol. 1, p. 176). In another conveyance of 1712 the same land, but with no mention of a house on it, appears to have been in the occupation of George Burr, together with a further strip of 4 acres adjoining it on the West. In 1745 Sloane granted it to Theophilus Earl of Huntingdon (Mx. Regy. 1745.2.218), who, says Faulkner, first built "Chelsea Farm" on the site, which was known later as Lord Cremorne's; and which was the subject of Girtin's drawing of the White House at Chelsea. Lord Cremorne purchased the property in 1778, and, says Faulkner, "considerably enlarged and embellished the premises under the skill of the late eminent Mr. James Wyatt." On his death in 1813 it passed under his will to his widow, who was the granddaughter of William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania. Lord Cremorne's funeral hatchment was, until recently, affixed to the East wall of the body of the Church (see p. 252).

To return to the earlier history of this farm. The name of Evans was not so common in England in the sixteenth century as to forbid the

conjecture that Hugon Eveyens, mentioned in a View of Frankpledge in 1544 (P.R.O.) was the progenitor of Lewis and Richard Evans, whose marriages are thus recorded in the Chelsea Register :

1561-2. Lewise Evans and Margerie Cooke married 8^o Januarii.

1562. Richard Evans and Joane Strange were married 3^o Maii.

1563. Lewes Evans and Joane Browne were married 24 Octobr.

And as Thomas Evans' son and heir was christened at Chelsea as Lewis (10 Feb. 1580-1) it may be inferred that he was of the same family. His wife was buried in 1597:

Margarita uxor Thomae Evans, sepulta in Templo 25^o die Julij.

In 1598 the marriage is recorded at Chelsea of "Johannes Maiock and Lyniox Evans," who are referred to in Thomas Evans' will as his daughter Lenyux and her husband John Madgewick. This will was dated 31st October 1611, and proved 25th September 1612 (P.C.C. 79 Fenner). The testator bequeathed his leaseholds to his grandson Thomas, son and heir of his son, Sir Lewis Evans, deceased. He was buried according to his directions at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. He bequeathed £50 towards the repairing of Chelsea Church, and £50 to the poor of that parish.

"THE MAGPIE"

This tavern, known in late years as "The Magpie and Stump," was burned down in 1886, and a private residence, No. 37 Cheyne Walk, now occupies the site. It is mentioned by name as early as 1587, when a survey of the Manor was made in which it appears that "unum tenementum vocatum le Pye" was in lease to Robert Boyer at an annual rent of 26s. 8d. (Harl. Roll, L 26). From this we may trace its history still further back, as it may be clearly identified with the tenement and parcel of land next the Manor purchased (by Henry VIII.) from Thomas Keyll, which is mentioned in the Particular of the Manor, printed in Appendix B.

NOTES ON THE PARISH REGISTERS 281

In 1597 it was in the occupation, possibly in the possession, of John Jones, as appears from two entries in the Parish Register :

1596-7. Mr. Coxe his man of Kynston was buried
frō Jones of the Pye. 2 Januarii.

1597. John Jones his brother of the pie buried the
last daie of August.

Within the next 50 years it was certainly severed from the Manor once more, the freeholder being James Leverett, whose name can never be forgotten in Chelsea. In 1647 he gave £20 "for a stock for the poor . . . delivered to Thomas Cooter and John Cotton, then churchwardens, to which their hands are set" (Faulkner, vol. ii. p. 142). Of this charity nothing is now known: but in his will, dated 20th August 1662, and proved on the 23rd January following, is a devise of a rent charge of £14 secured upon the "Maggepye," £10 of which was for the poor of Chelsea, and the remainder "to be expended and laid out in a dynner by the said Churchwarden and overseers which said dynner I will and ordayne shall be kept quarterly every yeare at the Maggepye in Great Chelsey aforesaid and not elsewhere. To which dynner my will is shall bee invited the Churchwardens Overseers Constables and Clarke of the said Parish and the then master or occupier of the said Maggpie."

This charity still exists, although the dinner has of late years been held elsewhere. In 1670, as we have seen, Lord Cheyne attended it at The Magpie. Leverett died in 1662, and was buried in the church on the 10th September in that year. His first wife Joane was buried there on the 27th May 1653. His widow (Mary) was left a life interest in the house, after which it appears to have been in the occupation of John Herne and Elizabeth his wife. Mrs. Herne was in all probability his daughter, as he devised to her The Magpie in fee, subject as above mentioned.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century the Manor Courts were held at The Magpie, and it seems to have been the principal inn in Chelsea for many years. In Luttrell's private journal is the following entry :

Down to Oder's at the Magpie in Chelsea where was a meeting of Justices &c.; met about 8 or 10 of us. . . . We settled and chose new Surveyors of the Highways and did other business. We dined there most of us about 3, and broke up about 5 and the High Constable Jones and I staid till near 6.

In Mr. Edmund Gardner's collection is an engraved card thus inscribed, the words between brackets being in manuscript:

"Sir/You are desired to meet a Loving Society of Gardners and Florists at (the sign of y^e Magpie in Great Chellsea on Thursday July y^e 11 1728) at one of the clock precisely there to Dine with your Friends and Servants (John Oder James Morris) Stewards."

Although The Magpie was purchased by Henry VIII. when Lord of the Manor, and included in the rental, it did not thereby lose its right of Common. It is mentioned in all three of the lists in Dr. King's MS.; in 1663 it is "late James Leveretts." In 1674 John Herne's, and in the third list, probably compiled about 1704, Mr. Goodwin's. I have not found any conveyance of it in the Middlesex Registry, down to 1750.

THOMAS SHADWELL, LAUREATE

Shadwell's Monument is in the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey. His remains were interred at Chelsea on the 24th November 1692—whether in the Church or in the churchyard there is no evidence to show—his funeral sermon being preached by Dr. Brady, and published in the following year with this title:

A SERMON PREACHED AT THE FUNERAL OF THOMAS SHADWELL, ESQ.;
LATE POET-LAUREAT, AND HISTORIOGRAPHER ROYAL,
WHO WAS INTERRED AT CHELSEA, NOVEMBER 24. 1692.
BY NICHOLAS BRADY, MINISTER OF ST. CATHARINE CREE-CHURCH,
AND CHAPLAIN TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ORMOND.
PUBLISHED AT THE EARNEST REQUEST OF THE FRIENDS OF THE
DECEASED.

NOTES ON THE PARISH REGISTERS 283

The text of the sermon is taken from Rev. xiv. and part of verse 13. "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord"; and the preacher, after speaking of "the things which God has prepared for them that love him," alludes in these words to the poet: "Into this happy state and condition, I hope, our deceased Brother is already enter'd; with whom my acquaintance was so intimate, during my short Familiarity with him, that it qualified me to know him as well as those who had conversed with him much longer: and I cannot but do his Memory that Justice to declare, that during the time of my acquaintance with him, I found in him a most zealous Affection to the present Government, a great deal of Honesty and Integrity, a real Love of Truth and Sincerity, an inviolable Fidelity and strictness to his word, an unalterable Friendship wheresoever he professed it (and however the World may be mistaken in him), a much deeper Sense of Religion, than many others have, who pretend to it more openly: His natural and acquired Abilities made him sufficiently remarkable to all that he conversed with, and cannot be unknown to any here present, very few being equal to him, in all the becoming Qualities and Accomplishments which adorn and set off a complete gentleman: His very enemies (if he have left any behind him) will give him this character, at least if they knew him so thoroughly as I did; and therefore it is but cold justice in a Friend, who received from him, during his Life, all the Marks of a true Affection, which shall make his Memory dear to me, when he is nothing else but Dust and Ashes. His death seized him suddenly, but could not unprepared, since (to my own certain knowledge) he never took his Dose of *Opium*, but he solemnly recommended himself to God by Prayer, as if he were then about *to resign up his Soul into the Hands of his faithful Creator*. These considerations give me good grounds to hope, that *this dead man is blessed*; because from thence I have reason to believe, that *he died in the Lord*. I should enlarge farther upon his character, but that he always in his life time disapproved of that Custom upon these Occasions, and most especially in relation to himself, nor should I thus far have infringed his Will in this particular, but that I was willing to inform the World, how much some People have erred in their Opinion of him."

Faulkner states that Shadwell had a house in Church Lane, and Swift mentions his son, Sir John Shadwell, Sloane's predecessor as Royal Physician, being there in the year 1711. Margaret and Anne, daughters of Sir John, were baptized at Chelsea on the 30th Dec. 1715 and Feby. 7th 1716-7 respectively.

SIR WILLOUGHBY CHAMBERLAIN

I have a copy of "a sermon preached at the funeral of Sir Willoughby Chamberlain Kt. who died at his House at Chelsey Dec. 6, and was interred at the Parish Church of St. James Carlick Hith, London, Dec. 12, 1697 by John King, Rector of Chelsey."

From this it appears that "the gentleman here represented was born in the fruitful and rich Island of Barbadoes, where he had a great estate, and . . . lived as freely, and as much at large (to use the softest terms of the dead) as any who are exposed to the temptations and snares of much Riches and under the conduct of little Prudence and self government. So that the former part of his Life was irregular enough ; and he can be esteemed but a late convert. His Reformation is to be dated from the death of his son (about 8 months before his own) . . . for that begat in him a visible change, and a Repentance I hope more early than his last sickness." Also, that he wished "to have a law made to oblige our Plantations baptize Negro slaves, as their French neighbours did. And so far he pursued that good intention that he gave strict orders, and made it his earnest request, to me and others, that the Black who waited on him might with all convenient speed be instructed and made a Christian."

It is gratifying to know that Dr. King lost no time in carrying out this request, as appears from the following entry in the Register of baptisms, made with his own hand, on the 27th April following :

"Sarah a Black servant to Orian Lady Chamberlain widow of Sir Willoughby Chamberlain."

The son above-mentioned was baptized at Chelsea on the 8th April 1697, "Willoughby, son of Sir Willoughby Chamberlain, Knt."

In Luttrell's "Narration of State Affairs" I find the following entry, 11th Dec. 1697: "Sir Willoughby Chamberlain, a gentleman of good estate, lately come hither from the West Indies, is dead of a delirious feavour having 2 days before in a fitt bitt a great part of his tongue off."

MARY ASTELL

"This great ornament of her sex and County," writes George Ballard in the "Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain," "was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne about the year 1668, and was the daughter of — Astell a Merchant in that place . . . at about 20 years of age she left Newcastle and went to London where, and at Chelsea, she spent the remainder of her life."

She was buried in Chelsea Church on the 14th May 1731.

So entirely has Miss Astell's name been forgotten, that I think it is only fair to her memory to quote a few passages from her more illustrious contemporaries concerning her.

John Evelyn, in his "Discourse of Medals," excusing himself for the omission of her name (with some others) from his catalogue of learned women, says, "nor without the highest ingratitude for the satisfaction I still receive by what I read of Madam Astell's. . . . Besides, what lately she has proposed to the virtuous of her sex to show by her own example what great things and excellencies it is capable of."

This alludes to her book entitled "A serious proposal to the Ladies" which was published anonymously in 1694. I will return to this later; but first let us hear Bishop Atterbury, who was her neighbour in Chelsea.

"Dear George," he writes to Dr. Smalridge, "I happened about a fortnight ago to dine with Miss Astell. She spoke to me of my Sermon [presumably one preached against Hoadley's Measures of Submission] and desired me to print it: and after I had given her the proper answer, hinted to me that she should be glad of perusing it. I complied with her and sent her the sermon the next day. Yesterday she returned it with this sheet of remarks which I cannot forbear

communicating to you, because I take 'em to be of an extraordinary nature considering they come from the pen of a woman. Indeed, I would not imagine a woman had written them. There is not an expression that carries the least air of her sex from the beginning to the end of it. She attacks me very home you see, and artfully enough under a pretence of taking my part against other Divines who are in Hoadley's measures. Had she as much good breeding as good sense she would be perfect ; but she has not the most decent manner of insinuating what she means, but is now and then a little offensive and shocking in her expressions : which I wonder at because a civil turn of words is what her sex is always mistress of. She, I think, is wanting in it. But her sensible rational way of writing makes amends for that defect if indeed anything can make amends for it. I dread to engage her, so I only writ a general civil answer to her, and leave the rest to an oral conference. . . ."

Comment on this is needless. But if Miss Astell's expressions really require vindicating, we may turn to John Norris' (the Rector of Bemerton's) correspondence with this lady "Concerning the love of God." In a letter prefixed to this publication, which appeared in 1695, Norris writes : "Madam, I am very sensible what obligations I am under to you for the privilege of your excellent correspondence though I can never hope that my thanks should ever either equal the pleasure or the advantage I have received by it or that I should be ever able to express the value I set upon your letters, either as to their ingenuity or their piety. The former of which might make them an Entertainment for an Angel, and the latter sufficient (if possible) to make a saint of the blackest devil."

Miss Astell's next publication was "an Essay in defence of the Female sex," which appeared anonymously in 1696. In dedicating it to Princess Anne of Denmark, she writes : "Our sex are by nature tender of their own offspring, and may be allowed to have more fondness for those of the brain, than any other, because they are so few, and meet with so many enemies at their first appearance in the World. I hope, therefore, to find pardon, if like an indulgent parent I have endeavoured to advance my first born by entering it very early into your Highnesses service."

In 1700 she published "Reflections upon Marriage." "Curoosity," she begins, "which is sometimes an occasion of good and too frequently of mischief, by disturbing either our own or our neighbours repose, having put me upon reading the Duke and Dutchess of Mazarine's case, I thought an afternoon would not be quite thrown away in pursuing some reflections that it occasioned." (The Duchess, her neighbour in Chelsea, was just dead. A charming account of her residence there will be found in Mr. L'Estrange's "Village of Palaces.")

This was followed in 1704 by two tracts—"A Fair Way with the Dissenters" and "An Impartial Enquiry into the causes of Rebellion and Civil War," and in 1705 by "The Christian Religion as professed by a daughter of the Church of England." It was her "Serious Proposal," however, that made the greatest stir, and occasioned the ungallant attacks upon her, under the name of "Madonella," in the *Tatler*. The Lady Elizabeth Hastings was so attracted by the proposal, says Ballard, that until seriously taken to task by Bp. Burnet, she was ready to give £10,000 towards its realisation, which was "to erect a Monastery, or if you will . . . a Religious Retirement and such as shall have a double aspect; being not only a retreat from the world for those who desire that advantage, but likewise an Institution and previous discipline to fit us to do the greatest good in it."

Miss Astell is said to have lived in Paradise Row: but a letter of hers to Sir Hans Sloane, amongst the Sloane MSS., is dated Manor Street.

HENRY MOSSOP

In the "Sexton's Book," which I mentioned in my preface, I find the following entry:

1775. Jan. 1. Henry Mossop Esq. 42. Head 48 feet from west wall. 17 feet from north side of Church.

Faulkner, in a brief notice of Mossop appended to his extract from the Burial Register, states that "He died in great poverty and distress at his lodgings in Chelsea December 1774, aged 43. His brethren of the buskin, who, during his life time, had refused him

any assistance, were anxious, after his death, to pay due respect to his name. . . . His remains were followed by all the theatrical corps at that time in London, at the head of whom was Garrick, and the funeral was conducted to Chelsea Church with great magnificence and pomp."

I have been at some pains to discover the source of Faulkner's information concerning this funeral, but so far I have only succeeded in obtaining evidence that contradicts it. "That so little respect was paid," says my author, "by the theatrical world to such an ornament, is a reproach to the community of both houses, save those who attended : but (that) he who lived rich in abilities went to the grave poor in commemoration (is of) very little consequence to the dead, but shameful to the living."

Such is the last sentence (relating to Mossop) of a "Summary View of the Stage as it has been, is, and ought to be, with biographical anecdotes of Messrs. Mossop, Dexter, Derrick, and the author, school-fellows, and public contemporaries," which is prefixed to "The Modish Wife, a comedy performed with uninfluenced applause at the Theatre Royal Haymarket," by Francis Gentleman (London, 1775).

"I was put under the care of Mr. Butler," the author tells us, "a clergyman who kept a grammar school in Digges Street, Dublin : here my first acquaintance and intimacy began with Mess. Mossop and Dexter, both within a year of my age. Mr. Mossop's father residing at his rectory, his son Henry was sent to the care of an uncle, who then kept a bookseller's shop ; this uncle put him to Mr. Butler's School and lodged him at an obscure butcher's in an obscure market, as I presume for cheapness sake : not very happy in his situation he frequently by leave passed a few days at my father's with me, and being of a grave cast, was much liked by all the family as well as myself."

Mossop, on leaving Butler's, was entered at Trinity College ; after which, it appears, he was "drawn from Ireland (to London) by the invitation of an uncle," who, as Mossop said, would do nothing material for him. In London he had offered himself to Mr. Garrick and Mr. Rich, who both deemed him unworthy acceptance. Gentle-

man, at his request, introduced him, in Dublin, to Sheridan, who gave him a cordial invitation, and his choice of parts. "He very judiciously chose Zanga in the *Revenge*, and displayed in it an astonishing degree of beautiful wildness: his amazing qualities of voice were clearly perceived and unanimously approved: his action was what in a great measure it ever remained, forced, awkward, and unpicturesque: his emphasis mechanical and laborious."

This candid criticism to some extent justifies the severity with which Churchill attacks him in the "*Rosciad*."

"Mossop attached to military plan
Still keeps his eye fix'd on his right-hand man,
Whilst the mouth measures words with seeming skill,
The right hand labours, and the left lies still;
For he resolves on Scripture grounds to go,
'What the right doth, let not the left hand know.'"

In 1751 Mossop procured an engagement at Drury Lane, where he continued till 1759, after which he returned to Dublin as manager, a situation for which he was ill qualified—"for too much ill-concerted expence attended his pride"—and which led to his ruin. Being broken in health, as in fortune, he retired to the South of France: but he never recovered.

Gentleman's impartial summing up of his talents might well serve for his epitaph. "Here we place to rest an actor of as great natural powers as ever paced the stage for tragedy, and as great defects as ever cast a damp on merit, even in that stile. Of his management it may be said he never consulted anything but self, not so much for gain, as selfish vanity. From the whole it may be collected that he had original integrity strongly planted in his heart, that he was by nature a gentleman, by opportunity and assiduity a scholar, by uncommon requisites a great actor, and by particular failings a very reprehensible man."

A very interesting account both of Mossop's relations with Garrick and of the circumstances of his death in Chelsea, are contained in the following letter, which is printed in "*The Private Correspondence of*

David Garrick," published by Colburn and Bentley in 1831 (vol. ii. p. 37) :

REV. D. WILLIAMS *to* DAVID GARRICK.

CHELSEA, *Jan.* 7, 1775.

SIR,—The most unfortunate event that could have befallen me* . . . has been the occasion of your not hearing from me immediately on Mr. Mossop's death.

I had it not in my power to attend him in the first days of his illness. I found him preparing for death with that extraordinary solemnity which accompanied all his important actions. He had gone through the general forms of the Church ; but I believe only as religious and edifying forms, and unattended with any discourse on the state of his mind. His conversations with me were the most interesting that can well be conceived : and from the extreme dejection of my own mind, and the high and tragical tone in which he expressed himself, they made a dreadful impression on me. His religion was tinctured by the characters he had studied ; and many of the attributes of God were the qualities of a Zanga or a Bajazet. Among other things which gave him uneasiness and made him greatly apprehend the displeasure of that God before whom he was going to appear, his behaviour to you was not the least distressing. He accused himself severely of having attributed motives of conduct to you which he firmly believed you incapable of. He had thought himself neglected by you in his distress, and that you sent him terms which you knew he would not comply with, because you did not wish to see him on the stage. He saw that he had been deceived by an excessive pride, and lamented the injustice he had done you, not only in some pecuniary articles, which he did not thoroughly explain to me, but in giving ill impressions of your character to his acquaintance. The very night in which he died, he renewed this conversation. He often cried out, "Oh, my dear friend, how mean and little does Mr. Garrick's present behaviour make me appear in your eyes, to whom I have given so different an

* The death of his wife. She was buried at Chelsea in Dec. 1774.

idea of him ! Great God forgive me ! Witness, my dear Williams, that I die not only in charity with him, but that I honour him as a virtuous and great man. God Almighty bless and prosper him for ever !” . . . the substance of this letter . . . must give you pleasure not only as a testimony to your character, which cannot be suspected, but as reflecting some honour on the memory of a man who, though he was unfortunate and faulty, possessed many great and good qualities. . . .

To this Garrick replied: “I thank you for your most affecting letter. Your account of poor Mossop’s death distressed me greatly. I have been often told that his friends never spoke kindly of me, and I am now at a loss what behaviour of mine from the first moment I knew him till the time of his death could have given him that unkind, and, I hope, unmerited turn of mind against me. With regard to his returning to us, it was his own peculiar resolution of not letting us know his terms that prevented his engagement at our theatre. Had I known his distress, I should most certainly have relieved it. He was too great a credit to our profession not to have done all in our power to have made him *easy* at least, if not *happy*. . . . Let me once more thank you for your very polite and agreeable manner in giving me this intelligence of our departed friend, for he was truly *mine* in those moments when the heart of man has no disguise.”

Gentleman says he was informed that Garrick offered to bury Mossop, but that “an uncle most generously took that enormous task to himself.” Whether it was the uncle who lodged him at the obscure butcher’s, or the one who drew him fruitlessly to London, or another, Gentleman does not say. But as the family feeling did not extend as far as erecting a tombstone, his remark is perhaps sufficient.

JOHN CAVALLIER

In the *London Evening Post* of May 17–20, 1740, it was announced that “On Saturday [the 17th] died at his lodgings at Chelsea, Colonel Cavallier, an old officer who had always behaved very bravely.”

In the Chelsea Register is recorded, on the 18th May 1740, the burial of "Brigadier John Cavallier;" and in the list of monuments in the churchyard given by Lysons, quoted at the beginning of my last chapter, is included that of "Major-General John Cavallier (1740)."

In August 1885, two months before the 200th anniversary of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, some correspondence, and a leading article, appeared in the *Times* on the subject of Cavallier's grave; and diligent, though fruitless, search was made for any trace of the tomb. Indeed, permission was obtained to open the ground where it probably stood, on the chance of finding a coffin-plate; but whether any of the bones we disturbed were those of Cavallier, there was no evidence to show.

It is stated in Smiles' "Huguenots" that the body was removed to Dublin; but on what authority I do not know. That Lysons saw the tomb, and many others which have since disappeared, cannot be doubted.

Of Cavallier's residence in Chelsea I have not been able to discover any record; nor have I anything to add to the account of him in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

ELIZABETH BLACKWELL

In the Sexton's Book is this entry on the 27th October 1758:

"Elizabeth Blackwell, 69. Feet 8 ft. from Ridges stable on east wall. Side 16 ft. from the —— wall."

In the Register of Burials on the same date is the simple entry, "Elizabeth Blackwel."

As neither Faulkner nor Lysons mentions the burial of Elizabeth Blackwell, the authoress of the "Curious Herbal," though the former gives some account of her residence in Chelsea, I quote this entry with diffidence. In the Parish Register, the burial of William, son of Alexander Blackwell, on the 3rd May 1736, is recorded; and that of "Ann Blackall" on the 13th October in the same year.

Dr. Blackwell's bankruptcy in 1734 (which was only the beginning of his extraordinary misfortunes) was the occasion of the family settling in Chelsea. "Mrs. Blackwell," says Faulkner, "instantly used her utmost endeavours, by her labour and industry, to extricate herself

NOTES ON THE PARISH REGISTERS 293

and her husband out of these difficulties. She had by nature a fine genius for drawing and painting, and being informed an Herbal was much wanted, she drew from the life several of the Physical Plants." These were shown to Dr. Hans Sloane and others, and on the advice of Dr. Rand, then Curator, she took a house over against the Physic Garden.

The Herbal was published in 1739. In 1747 Dr. Blackwell was "broke alive on the wheel" at Stockholm, being found guilty of treason. In the "Dictionary of National Biography" it is stated that, after her task was performed, Mrs. Blackwell "disappears from observation," and that "the date of her death is not recorded."

ABEL BOYER

It is stated in the notice of Boyer in the "Dictionary of National Biography" that he died at Chelsea on the 16th November 1729, "in a house which he had built for himself at Chelsea." As I have eagerly searched the Index of the Middlesex Registry down to the middle of the 18th century for any mention of Chelsea, I do not think that the name of Boyer could have escaped me if it had been there: so that, unless a more careful search than mine discovers anything further, it may be supposed that Boyer, like several of his famous contemporaries, was only a lodger in Chelsea. The Parish Registers record the burial of "Mr. Abell Bowyer" on the 19th Nov. 1729.

VARIOUS PERSONS OF QUALITY

BAPTIZED.

- 1587. July 10. Ursula, daughter of Sir Robert Stapleton.
- 1596-7. Feb. 13. "Charles, a boy by estimacon x or xii yers olde brought by S^r Walter Rawlie from Guiana."
- 1604. Dec. 6. Mary, daughter of Sir John Townsend.
- 1612. Apl. 16. Frances, daughter of Sir Walter Aston.
- 1613-4. Jan. 16. "Harbertus," son of Sir Walter Aston.

1621. Aug. 12. Ann, daughter of Sir Henry Cary and Martha his wife.
1626. June 22. Henry, son of the Lord Gray.
1637. Sept. 23. Dorothy, daughter of Sir Thomas Paton.
1640. Aug. 23. Thomas, son of Sir George Wentworth.
1642. Nov. 30. Henry, son of Sir Richard Cave.
- 1657-8. Feb. 25. Richard, son of Sir Henry Herbert.
- „ Mch. 13. Thomas, son of Mr. Nicholas Hookes.
- 1659-60. March 11. John, son of Mr. Nicholas Hookes.
(Nicholas Hookes was the author of a volume of Poems entitled "Amanda.")
1660. Nov. 3. Charles, son of Sir Thomas Leddell.
1662. Sept. 16. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Leddell.
1666. Sept. 10. Frances, daughter of William Cartwright, Esq., of Aynho, Northamptonshire.
1667. Oct. 31. Samuel, son of Sir John Rodes and the Lady Anna, his wife.
1678. Aug. 29. Francis, son of Sir Philip Meadows.
1679. Dec. 20. Charles, son of Sir Philip Meadows.
- 1681-2. Feb. 27. Anthony, son of the Right Hon. Banaster Maynard.
1691. Nov. 25. Ann, daughter of Dr. John Sharp, Archbishop of York.
1697. Oct. 26. Dorothy, daughter of the Hon. Robert Tracy.
- „ Dec. 3. Francis, son of John Richards; Doctor of Physic.
1699. Apl. 25. Bernard, son of Bernard Greville.
- „ Nov. 14. Henry, son of Peter Dumas, Organist to the Royal Hospital.
- 1721-2. Jan. 13. Francis, son of William Lord Forbes.
1724. June 10. Ann, daughter of William Lord Forbes.
1725. Nov. 3. Mary, daughter of William Lord Forbes.
1747. Nov. 2. Augustus, son of the Hon. Augustus Hervey.

MARRIED.

1582. July 30. Thomas Mansell, son and heir of Sir Edward Mansell and Mrs. Mary Mordaunt, daughter of Lord Mordaunt.
1592. May 24. John Treavor Esq. and Margaret Trevanion.
- 1594-5. March 3. Thomas Paines of North Wickendon, Essex, and Jane Periam.
1605. June 25. Sir Robert Dyneley and Olive Stapleton.
1611. June 3. Francis Goddard Esq. and Katherine Quarles.
1641. Sept. 30. Sir Richard Cave Knt. and Mrs. Elizabeth Bartlett.
- 1659-60. Mch. 15. Mr. Basil Dickswell and Mrs. Dorothy Paieton.
- 1666-7. Feb. 25. John Lowther, of Spittle, Westmorland, and Mary Withing, of Eltham, Kent.
1667. May 9. Fulwar Skipwith, of Brome Court, Warwick, and Dame Elizabeth Coney.
- „ Dec. 19. G. Evelin Esq. and Mrs. Katherine Gore.
1668. Apl. 16. William Villiers Esq., of Brooksby, Leicester, and Mrs. Ann Potts of St. Martin's in the Fields.
1671. July 22. Henry Drax Esq., of Southampton Buildings, and Madam Dorothy Lovelace, of Little Queen Street, London.
1681. Apl. 10. Nicholas Stone and Mary Blundell.
1683. Apl. 12. The Hon. Sir Dudley North and Dame Anne Gunning.
1694. Dec. 31. Colonel George Macartney and Mrs. Anne Douglas.
1700. July 22. The Hon. Thomas Newport and Mrs. Penelope Bridgman.

BURIED.

1592. May 23. "Johes Welwyn genoss sepults in cancello ecclesie."
1595. Oct. 26. "Esias filius Edwardi Cope ar'."

1597. Aug. 25. "Edward Page p^r familias sepults erat. Mr. Edward (*sic*) gave in his will to the use of the poore of Chelsey Ten pounds to be enploied yerely to their best benefit by the parson churchwardens & their successors."
1599. Apl. 9. "Tobias filius M^r Milles, S^r Rob^t Cycylla Secretarie."
1603. June 11. "Anna filia Rici Stapleton generos; in the quier."
- 1606-7. Feb. 23. "The Ladie Jane Hynde widdowe."
- 1607-8. Feb. 7. "Thomas Forrest a godly preacher."
1610. June 5. "Christofer Plunkett the for^m La Elizabeths sonne."
- „ Aug. 8. "Thomas Harryce gent of the Innes of Court."
1631. June 10. Sir Thomas Coney, Kt.
- 1638-9. Jan. 31. Lady Elizabeth Winkfield, from Westminster.
1666. June 19. Walter, son of Sir John Mainey.
1667. Nov. 28. Robert, son of Sir Francis Clinton.
1675. Dec. 6. William, son of Mr. William Killigrew.
- 1685-6. Jan. 4. "Gemina Chelsey."
- 1687-8. Mch. 19. Colonel Francis Godfrey.
- 1690-1. Feb. 5. Lady Katherine Persival.
- 1695-6. Feb. 17. George Bradbury Esq. Baron of the Exchequer.
1696. July 18. James Elphinston, son of Lord Elphinston.
- 1697-8. Mch. 16. John Richards, Doctor of Physic.
1698. Apl. 16. The Rt. Hon. Lady Frances Holford.
1700. June 30. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Pierce.
1702. Sept. 14. "Lady Dickswell buried by her Son S^r Bazil Dickswell Baronet."
1703. Apl. 11. Thomas, son of Thomas Bray, D.D.
1706. Apl. 30. Ann Lady Duncomb, wife of Sir William Duncomb.
1707. July 4. Captain John Ramsay.
- „ Aug. 15. "Anna Britannia England."
- „ Aug. 16. Peregrine, son of Sir George Pearce, Bt.

NOTES ON THE PARISH REGISTERS 297

1708. Apl. 24. Hester, wife of Sir Francis Windham.
 1710. Dec. 13. Dorothy, wife of Colonel Henry Cope.
 1711. Aug. 22. Elizabeth Lady Atkins.
 Sir Robert Atkyns, the historian of Gloucestershire, had a
 lease from Lord Cheyne of a house in the "west field."
 (Middx. Reg. 1712. 4.50)
 „ Sept. 9. Villars Bathurst, gent.
 1713. Nov. 17. Sir James Holford.
 1714. Nov. 26. Olivia Lady Vavasour.
 1719. Sept. 8. Sarah Lady Pearse, wife of George Pearse, Bart.
 1721. Aug. 24. The Rt. Hon. Lady Margaret Spencer.
 1723-4. Mch. 19. Frances Lady Bellew.
 „ June 16. Anne, daughter of William Lord Ferers.
 1724. Sept. 5. Rev. John Lowthorp.
 „ Nov. 17. Sir James Abercromby.
 1727. Nov. 27. Mrs. Isabella Willis, wife of Richard, Bishop of
 Winchester (in the north vault in the chancel).
 1729. Mch. 29. Sir John Kennedy, Bart.
 1731. Dec. 16. Dame Frances Norcliffe.
 1734. Aug. 8. Francis, Lord Forbes.
 „ Nov. 9. Mary, daughter of William, Lord Forbes.
 1741. Mch. 26. John Baptist, Marquis de Malaspine.
 1747. Nov. 14. Lady Elizabeth Lowther.
 1748. Sept. 8. The Hon. Matthew Aylmer.

MAYERNE

The following letter from Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple escaped my notice until too late to include it in my chapter on Lindsey House. I give it as printed in Courtenay's "Life of Temple" (vol. ii. p. 324).

"What a sad story you tell me of the little marquise! Poor woman! Yet she's happy, she's dead; for sure her life could not be very pleasing to her. When we were both girls I had a great

acquaintance there ; they lived by us at Chelsea, and as long as his son lived, Sir Theodore did me the honour to call me daughter ; but whilst I was first in France he died, and with him my converse with the family, for though my mother had occasion to be often there, yet I went very seldom with her : they were still so passionate for their son that I never failed of setting them all a crying, and then I was no company for them. But this poor lady had a greater loss of my Lord Hastings, who died just when they should have been married ; and sure she could not think she had recovered it at all by marrying this buffle headed Marquis ; and yet one knows not neither what she might think. I remember I saw her with him in the Park, a little while after they were married, and she kissed him the kindest that could be in the midst of all the company. I shall never wish to see a worse sight than it was."

It seems that Dorothy's mother was sister to Sir John Danvers of Chelsea : certainly not daughter, as has been stated. As for the Marquise, she was doubtless Elizabeth, not Adriana ; though both sisters were Marquises.

Sir Theodore Mayerne's marriage licence (August 1, 1630) describes him as of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Knight, widower, aged 57 ; and his wife as Isabella Vanderbergh, of Chelsea, widow, aged 32, relict of Francis Vanderbergh, Esq. (Chester).

CORRIGENDA

- P. 52, line 4, *for of read with.*
- P. 54, line 30, *for prosperitie read posteritie.*
- P. 59, line 13, *for portion read proportion.*
- P. 67, line 26, *read Praestolatur. Obiit.*
- P. 68, lines 3-9. *Delete this Latin Inscription.*
- P. 140, line 20, *for W. Wharton read Mr. Wharton.*
- P. 178, line 24, *for 1768 read 1708.*
- P. 277, line 5, *for subta read subter.*

APPENDIX A

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FUNERAL OF JOHN LORD BRAY, AS
PRINTED BY LYSONS FROM THE HERALDS
COLLEGE MS. I. XV. FOL. 279

THENTYREMENT and buryall of the Right honorable John Lorde Braye, who depected this liefie within the late Blackefryers in London, on Thursdaye the 18 of Novembre, at 3 of the clocke in the aftrenoone, 1557, An. 4 & 5 Phi. & Mar. and was buryed at Chelseye in the myddest of the hyghe chauncell there, with his father and grandfather undre one highe tombe there.

Itm, he lefte behinde hym his wiefe Anne, daughtre to Frauncys Erl of Shrewisburys, then lyvinge, by whom he had no childe, and so died without issue, and made no will, but comytted thordre of all things to hys mother Dame Jane Braye, late wyfe to Edmond Lorde Braye.

Itm, after the bodye was colde hyt was bowellid, cered, and coffend, and brought into the greate chambre, where hyt was leyd undre a table coverd with a large pawle of blacke unwaterd chamblett, with a whtye crosse of the lyke, with 6 schocheons of his armes and his wiefe, wrought on buckeram ; sett thereon a crosse, 2 tapres and 4 other, al the which still burned duringe his abode there with contynewall watche, which was tyll Tuesdaye the 23 of Novembre, about 8 of the clocke in the mornynge, that al things was in readyness, at which tyme he was conveyed to Chelsey as followeth,—Fyrst, the crosse, and on eyther side the 2 whyte branchis borne by 2 clerks,—then 24 clerks and 8 prysts ;—then Edward Merlyon, his hoode on his heade, bearing the standerde ; after hym, S^r Richard Wheytley and S^r Richard Harrys, chapleyns, in theyre gownes and tippetts ;—then Thomas Udall with the bann^r of armes ; after hym Rudge Dragon, with the helme and creste ; then Rychmonde with the cote of armes,—and after hym Garter :—then the corpse as afore borne by 6 of his men, viz. Christopher Banks, George Vaux, George Stadley, Alexander Morley, Davye Morgan, and John Lackey ; and on thone syde went Frauncys Sawnders with the bann^r of the Trynytye, and on thother syde Tryamor Smyth, with St.

George, bothe of them havinge theyre hoodes on theyre heades ;—and along on both sydes were 18 staffe torchys, carryed by 18 poore men in black gownes. Then next aftre the corps, as chiefe morner, went S^r George Broke, Knight of the Garter, Lorde Cobham,— aftre hym his son Mr. Thomas Broke, and Mr. Edmond Verney ;—then Mr. John Broke, and Mr. Thomas Lyefylde ; and laste Mr. Edmonde Braye, and Mr. Halshe ; and aftre them all other comers ; in which ordre they proceded to the bridge at the blackfreers, where was 2 greate barges coverd with black, garnysed with schoocheons, thone for the morners and gentlemen thother for the bodye, quere, hatchments, and other. Where althings placed, they rowyd uppe tyll they cam to Chelsey (alwaies that with the bodye afore thother), where they landed, and proceded as afore tyll they cam to the churche, where at the dore the bodye was recefyd, and then conveyed into the quere, where yn the myddest it was sett upon tressles, with dowble and barryers, stoles and Quysheons for the morners coverd with blacke, garnysed with schocheons, and in lyke manner was the chauncel and quere hangyd and garnished, and at every corner of the inner barryers stode a highe standing candlestycke gylte, with a greate mayne tapre thereon, and on eche two schoocheons of hys armes.

Then the bodye placed with the hatchments sett thereon, and all other things in ordre, Richemond herald bade the prayer as followeth : “ For the soule of the Right honorable S^r John Braye, Knyght, late Lord Braye, of your charytie say a p^r n^r ” which he bade at other tymes accostomyd, and then dyridge began, which ended, masse of requiem began, durynge which tyme at the syde awltre were dyverse masses seid, and at *magnificat* ; *benedictus* ; aftre the gospell, and at *libera me* the person censyd the corps.

Then at the offerynge, Mr. Garter, Rychemond, and Rudge-Dragon proceded uppe before the chiefe morner, thother 6 mourners followinge hym, where all onely he, offeryd the masse pennye, a peece of golde returnyd to hys place. Then Mr. Garter at thend of these, delyvered the cote of armes to Mr. Thomas Cobham and Mr. Verney, who with Rychemond before them, offeryd the same, which Roudge Dragon at the pryst's hands received, and placed on the awltre, and so they returnyd, goinge uppe the north ile, and returnyng downe the sowthe ile. Then Mr. Garter dd the targett to Mr. John Cobham and Mr. Lyefylde, who with Roudge-dragon before them in lyke ordre, offeryd the same, which Rychemond placed on the awltre, and returnyd. Then Mr. Garter dd the swerde to Mr. Braye and Mr. Halshe, who with Rychemonde before them likewise offeryd the same, the hylte forwarde, which Roudge-dragon placed on the awltre. Then the 2 fyrste mourners agayne proceded uppe with Roudge-dragon before them, in all poynts as afore, and offeryd thelme and creste, which Ryche-

mond placed on the awltre, and so they returnyd to theyre places—and then the Lorde Chiefe morner alone, with Rychemond afore hym, proceeded uppe and offeryd for hymselfe, and afre returnyd, and toke hys place. Then Mr. Thomas Cobham and Mr. Verney offeryd for themselves, and returnyd to theyre places. And afre them thother 4 morners offeryd likewise for themselves, 2 afre 2,—and then all gentlemen and other that wolde : which offerying fynyshed the sermon began by Father Peryn, a blacke freer, whose Antheme was “Scio quia resurget in resurrectione in novissimo die,” where uppon he declaryd howe Chryste raised Lazarus from deathe, seying howe he was a gentleman geven to Chyvalrie for the welthe of hys countrey ; and so he seid that noble man which there laye deade was in whose commendacion amonge manye other things, he fynished his sermonde, which don, mass proceeded till St. John’s gospell, that the bannr and standarde were offeryd, and afre the body buryed, in which meane tyme *et libera me*, the morners departed to theyre botts, and so to London to his seid howse to dynn, where they and other dynyd, which endyd, everye man deputed at theyre pleasure. And the morrowe the hatchments and banners were sett uppe in the chauncell at Chelsey accordinglie.

The paynter’s chARGE at the seid buryall of the Lord Braye.

	sh.	d.
Item for his standarde whys crest of the lyon between two wyngs, powdered with the dunne croppe earyd connye and the brake, and his woorde “Sera comme a Dieu plaira,” pryce	33	4
A banner and armes, pryce	26	8
Two banners of Seynts	40	0
A coote of armes	33	4
A creste carved and kylte	10	0
The mantells of blacke velvet, with the gylte knopps and sylke tassels	13	4
A targett	10	0
Six schoochcons in buckeram	10	0
Two doz. in metall at 15 ^d the pece	30	0
Four doz. in cooler at 10 ^d the pece	40	0
For 5 iron brasses (braces)	10	0
Four black staves	4	0
Sum	£13	0 8

APPENDIX B

(MS. Lansd. 2, No. 5)

A PERTICLER BOOKE OF CHELSEY MANOR

Comm Midd
MANERIU DE CHELSEY

Pcell Terr nup Dne Katherine
nup R^e Anglie

Red Assiss }
libor Tenem }

De hered Robti ffenrother p libo redd p a	xiiij ^s iij ^d
De Willmo Wilkins p libo redd	xix ^s j ^d
De Johe Barnardo p libo redd	liiiij ^s vj ^d ob
De Dna Cotton p libo redd	vij ^s vj ^d
De Willo Birrell p libo redd	iiij ^d
De hered Willi White p libo redd	xij ^d
De Johe Whasse p libo redd	x ^d
De Johe Pagington p libo redd	ij ^s
De Johe Hereman p libo redd	iiij ^d
De Johe Yonge p libo redd	vj ^d
De Johe Norton p libo redd	x ^d
De Johe Chamber p libo redd	j ^d

Sm. cj^s iij^d ob

Firma Terr Dnical in Chelsey

De Rico Jervis assignat Thome Keyle pro firma omm ill domor gardin pomar pastur lez Groves et curtilag scituat iac et existen infra muros palic ac port maner pd (Except et omno reservat lez barnes un granar et lez comōn poundes eiusdem maner ac le great courte et oibs dom et edific extra mur et palic pd Sic eidm Tho Keyle ad firma dimiss p Inden Willmi Dni Sandes et al ffeoffator dat xxviiij die Julij a^o xj^o nup Rg h. viij Hend eidm Thō exec et assign s a

- festo sci Michis archi prox futur post dat dce Inden p termino xl^{ta}
 annor extunc prox sequen et plenar complendor p a sol ad fest^a
 Annunc et Michis eq^r xxvi^o viij^d
- De Johe Chamberlaine p redd un Claus prat sive pastur cont p estimac
 xx^t acr Sic sibi dimiss p a sol ad festa pd xl^s
- De eodem Johe p redd x acr terr iac in coi campo ibm p a sol ad fest ped xiii^o iiij^d
- De Johe Patenson p redd un dom ibm voc longhouse p a sol ad fest pd xiii^o iiij^d
- De Johe Chamblaine p redd iiij lez bayes cuiusdm magni Orrei ibm p a
 sol ad fest pd xiii^o iiij^d
- De supradco Johe Patenson p redd un pvi pightelli ibm p a sol e t xii^d
- De eodem Johe Patenson p redd un granar ibm p a sol e t v^s
- De Henrico Greaterake p redd un pvi Orrei ibm p a sol e t vi^s viij^d
- De eodem Henrico p redd un stabul ibm p a sol e t v^s
- De Willo Pawlet m^{td} Dno St. John p redd iiij^{or} Clauss terr ibm voc
 blacklands p a e t viij^l
- De eodem Willo Pawlet m^{td} Dno St. John p redd un Clauss ibm vocat
 Gospellshot p a e t xxxvij^o iiij^d
- De Dco Dno St. John p redd xx^{td} acr terr vocat Temysshott p a e t xxij^o iiij^d
- De supradco dno St. John p redd xij acr terr iac iuxta crucem in campis
 ibm p a sol e t xvj^s
- De supradco dno St. John p redd un acr terr ibm voc wyffes acre p a e t xvj^s
- De prefato dno St. John p redd un prati ibm voc Stonybridge Close
 p a e t xx^s
- De Henrico White ar^o p firma cuiusdm pastur in padington sepalit^r
 existen infra iiij^{or} clauss unde un claus voc Darkingbysshes al voc
 Homefeild terc voc balsterfeild et quart voc bandelandes que quidem
 pastur cu ptin Willms Person nup tenuit ad firma sic dimiss pd Henr
 White p Inden W^l Sands m^{te} dni Sandes et dne Margerie uxor eius
 dat xxvij^o die Febr a^o xvij^o h viij Hend a festo Annunc que erit in
 a^o dni 1527 p termino xxi annor extunc px sequen et plenar complend iiiij^l
- De ——— Ball ibm p redd xvij^o acr prat ibm p a sol ad f^m Michis
 Archi tantu vj^l
- De Thoma Beane senior p redd un tenti ibm p a sol ad festa Annunc et
 Michis eq^r xxvj^o viij^d
- De eodem Thoma Beane p redd un magni claus ibm p a sol ad festa pd v^s
- De prefato Thoma Beane p redd lez Bays Supdci magni horrei ibm p a e t iij^o iiij^d
- De Barnerdo Sympson p redd xxx^{ta} acr terr iacen in coi campo ibm p a e t xl^s
- De eodem Barnerdo p redd un acr terr ibm p a &^o vj^s
- De pd Barnerdo p redd un claus ibm cont una acr terr p a e t iiij

De prefato Barnerdo p redd iiij^{or} pcell prat voc lez lottes p a e t ij^s
 De Thoma Beane p redd iiij^{or} lez Bayes supdci magni horrei ultra lez v
 bayes supius Dimiss p a xlii^s iiij^d
 De Ballio ibm p redd un cli voc lez Conyclose cont p est Vque acr terr
 p a sol et x^s
 De supradco Willo Pawlet mite Dno St. John p redd un claus voc
 blakelandes p a sol et xxxij^s
 De redd cuiusdm tenti cu un pcell terr eidm adiac iuxta maner dni Rg
 ibm p nrm dnm Regem de Thoma Keyll de London nupime
 pquisit sol e t xxvj^s viij^d
 Sm. xxxvij^l xj^s iiij^d

Pqniss Cur. De pqniss Cur ibm xx^s
 Firma tentor. De Johe Patynson p firma duor tentor cū ptin iacen et
 existen in Chelsey cu xl^{to} acr terr arr dcis tentis ptin cu vij lotts
 prati iac in occiden campo de Chelsey in te Johe Patynson p Inden
 Robti White dat primo die Mcii a^o xxxiiij^{to} Rg nri h viij Hend et
 tenend dca duo tenta et ceter dimiss cu ptin pfato Johe Patynson
 exec &^o a festo Annunc ec post dat eiusdm Inden p termino xxi
 annor extunc prox sequen &^o p a iiij^l vj^s viij^d
 Sm totlis pd xlvij^l xix^s iij^d ob

Feod et vad

ffood ball ibm p a lx^s x^d
 ffeod Custod Capitlis manc dni Rs p a lx^s x^d
 ffeod Custod Gardin dni Rs p a lx^s x^d
 ffeod Sen^l p a xl^s
 Sm allocac pd xj^l ij^s vj^d

Remanet clare p ann xxxvj^l xvj^s x^d ob

This breef was made by an abstract of the accompt de A^o Henrici 8 wherein
 was no allowance given of vj^l x^s for medowes as in later accompts And by this
 occasion the value then was formerly the more The difference beside groweth
 by the profite of Courte.

APPENDIX C

DR. KING'S NOTES ON CHELSEA COMMON (FROM THE MS. AT THE CHELSEA PUBLIC LIBRARY)

THE Mapp on the other side contains Chelsey Common wch is in all 37 acres 7 poles But the gravell pits, Pond, the Cottage, & poor Houses taken out of it as also the wayes it will amount to about 33 acres. It is a Pasturage for 40 Cowes and 20 Heiffers and the right of Common belongs to these particulars exempt from all others

	cowes	Heiffers.
1. The Lord Chéyne for a farm	6 and 3	
2. Lady Lindsey for her House	2	1
3. Lord Wharton or his Tenants Stalwood for the Tene- ment late Goat	2	1
4. The Rector for the Parsonage house & Glebe	6	3
5. Mr Bell for late Plucknets 3 cottages	6	3
6. Mr Harris For Late dog now Watersman Court	2	1
7. Mr Joseph Nicols for 2 Cottages upper end of Church Lane	4	2
8. Late Mr Bennet Mr Mart has the Land and Mr Newdik has the Farm House. Quær. Whose Right		
9. Mr Kender for the Feathers late Prestons	2	1
10. Mr Wollaston for Mr Woodcocks late Sr Joseph Alstons	2	1
11. Mr Goodwin for the Maggpye	2	1
Total	<u>40</u>	<u>20</u>

of Chelsey Common

This is a Common belonging to some Ancient Houses Farmes & Cottages for the Depasturage of 40 Cowes & 20 Heiffers. .

To keep these there was always a Cow-keeper, whose business it was to mark the Cattle, to drive home the Cowes at night to the Several Owners, and

to impound all Cattle unmarkt or any Horses wch broke into the sd Common, or he found there. He was usually put in by the Lord of the Mano^m Bayliff, and allowed by the Commoners and paid by them, for his pains & care. When the Church was to be new built the Common was inclosed by the consent of Charles Cheyne Esq^r Lord of the Several Proprieto^m for 21 years to defray part of the Charges by a Lease bearing date March 25, 1674.

And the Persons therein named to have right are these

	Cowes	Heifes
Earl of Lindsey } since allowed }		
Claimed & }	2	1
Lord Norris & Thomas Wharton Esq ^r	2	1
Charles Cheyne Esqr for farmhouse L ^d ship yard	6	3
Dr. Adam Littleton for Parsonage House & Glebe	6	3
Joseph Alstone Esqr	2	1
Albion Chaire for 2 Cottages	4	2
George Plucknet 3 Cottages	6	3
John Bennet	6	3
John Herne	2	1
Eliz Preston	2	1
Edward Harris	2	1

The lease was executed by these persons, their Trustees & their under Tenants, and thereby let to Georg Hill & Francis Guilford, who inclosed the same & quietly enjoyed the common so inclosed unto Mich^mas 1695. When it was thrown open again. ffrom Mich^mas 1694 to Mich^mas 1695 Natthan Tirrett grazed it by taking in Beasts & with some of his own. He paid me That years Tithes for the same at the Rate of 30 acres (the rest for pitts & high wayes abated) at the rate of 4^s p acre—6 : 00 : 00.

And so I understand Dr. Littleton rec^d., after a Suit with Samms in wch the Dr. Prevail'd & made the sd Samms pay Costs as Mr. Franklin knowes.

At a Court Baron ten ffeb. 25. 1663. XVI^{to} Caroli 2^{di}.

Presented by a Jury to have right of Common in Chelsey Comon as follows

	Cowes	Heiffers
1 Parsonage House & Glebe Land	6	3
2 The Messuage with the Appurtences Late Earl of Devon now Joseph Alston	2	1
3 Reynolds farm late Wm. Arnolds, late Youngers & 3 Heiffers	6	3
4 Evans his ffarm now in Lease to John Sanders & 3 Heiffers	6	3

	Cows Heifers	
5 House called the Magpye late James Leveretts	2	1
6 The House called the Princes Arms	2	1
7 Six Houses in Church Lane in the Tenure of Albion Chare formerly 2 Cottages	4	2
8 The House lately called the Sign of the Dog now Fran : Gregs	2	1
9 The House called the Goat	2	1
10 Charls Crecke Gent for the Cottages one in Possession of John Coulson	2	1
Another in the Tenure of Mary Heath	2	1
Another in the Tenure of Eliz: Hankins	2	1

Item Sr Arthur Gorges Knight did in his life time above 40 yeares before for all his Houses & Lands whereunto Rt of Common did appertain by Custome hath disclaimed his Rt of Common in Consideraon of 3 acres of Medow ground over agst Battersey Church allowed him by the Lord of the Mannor wch 3 Acres heretofore was Lammas, nor any claiming under him hath right of Common, nor had nor claimed any right of Common ever since.

- | | | |
|---|----|-----|
| | s. | d. |
| Rules 1. All Cattle are to be markt with 2 lett ^{rs} by a Tar-
mark und' Penal ^{ty} of | 2 | : 6 |
| 2. The Bailiff refusing to mark shall forfeit 5 shills | 5 | : 0 |
| 3. Paid for marking yearly p Cow | 0 | : 4 |
| 4. The Owners of Common may lett their Common to
Inhabitants in the Parish of Chelsea & no
other | | |

The House late Sr Theo: Mayern's no more than 2 Cows one Heiffer no more nor lesse belonging to any Comonabl messuage Tenem^t., or Cottage & upon the pulling down the old House not claimed untill the new House was built.

INDEX OF NAMES

- ABBEY, J.**, 184
Abeale, John, 198-9; **Joanna**, 200
Abercromby, Sir James, 297
Abingdon, Ellenora, Countess of, 136
 — **James, Earl of**, 136, 199, 306
 — **Montague, Earl of**, 149
Adams, Charity, Nicholas, 256
 — **Edmund**, 69
Adrian, Pope, 37
Aldworth, Boyle, 234
 — **Sir Richard**, 235
Allington, Sir Giles, 97
Allstone, Thos., 254
Alston, Sir Joseph, 191, 272-3, 306
 — **Thos.**, 254
 — **family of**, 272-3
Altham, Edward, 58-64
Ancaster, Duke of, 158
Anderson, Edward, 34, 247
Anglesey, Earl of, 127
Anne of Cleves, 53
Ansell, Thos., 275
Archer, Captain Lawrence, 179, 180
Aris, Joseph, 192
Arnold, Miles, 11
 — **Valentine**, 151
Arundel, Wm., 106
Ashburnham, Hon. Wm., 11, 21, 22
Astell, Mary, 285-7
Aston, Sir Walter, 293
Atkyns, Sir Robert, 297
Atterbury, Francis, 278, 285
Aubrey, John, 99, 136-40
Aylmer, Hon. Matthew, 297

BAKER, Lady, 275-6
Balsham, J., 184
Banks, Ann, 248

Barker, Edward, 104, 106
 — **Susanna**, 247
Barnard, James, 47, 222
 — **John**, 222, 302
 — **Ursula**, 47, 222
Bartlett, Eliz., 295
Basset, J., 184
Bathurst, Villars, 297
Bayley, Chas., 244
 — **Mary**, 243
Banning, Paul, Viscount, 127
Bean, Thos., 16, 106, 153, 303
Beaufort, Duke of, 115-18
 — **Duchess of**, 43, 116
Beaupraunt, J., 184
Beaver, Mr., 240, 277
Bedford, Lucy, Countess of, 124
Bellew, Frances, 297
Bemrose, Wm., 240
Bennett, J., 229, 305-6; **Elizabeth**, 199
Bentley, Michael, Maria, John, Mary, 250
Berners, Roger de, 184
Bernini, 57, 64
Bertie, Albemarle, 158
 — **Charles**, 157-8
 — **Elizabeth**, 158
Berwick, Benj., Mary, 249
Bevington, 35
Bex, family of, 199-202
Bindon, Viscount, 120, 122-3
Birrell, Wm., 302
Biscoe, Catherine, Joseph, 255
Bishop, J., 184
Blackwater, Viscount, 158
Blackwell, Alexander, Elizabeth, 292-3

- Blake, Wm., 151
 Blakiston, Nathaniel, 176-180
 Blatchford, Robert, 179
 Blon, Le, Christopher, 152
 Bloxwiche, Wm., 276
 Blundell, Mary, 295
 Blunt, Rev. G. W., 22
 Bodmin, Viscount, 146
 Boevey, A. G. C., 198
 — Anne (Lady Smith), 199-202
 — family of, 198-202, 215
 Boleyn, T., 185
 Bolney, George, James, Mary, Mrs.,
 250-1
 Bonnell, David, 199, 200
 Bostocke, 112
 Bowack, John, 11, 19, 36, 128, 153,
 156, 158
 Bowes, Thos., 255
 Boyer, Abel, 293
 — Robert, 280
 Bradbury, George, 296
 Brady, Nicholas, 282
 Bray, Edmund, Lord, 45, 46
 — John, Lord, 45, 46, 299-301
 — Margery, 37, 45
 — Sir Reginald, 37, 44, 45, 46, 85
 — Dr. Thos., 296
 — William de, 184
 Bridge, Anna, Bewick, 245
 Bridgett, Rev. J., 102
 Bridgman, Penelope, 295
 Briggs, 135
 Bringhurst, Edward, 35
 Bristol, Countess of, 115
 — George, Earl of, 86, 115
 Broun, R., 184
 Brown, Alexander, 185
 — John, 251
 Browne, Dr. Thos., 53, 185, 187
 Bryan, Sir Francis, 47
 Bryce, George, 16
 Bubb, Ann, Elizabeth, Thos., 248
 Buck, Charles, Elizabeth, Francis,
 James, John, Matthew, Mary,
 Sir Peter, Richard, Thomas,
 233-4
 Buckby, Maria, William, 235-6
 Buckingham, Duke and Duchess of,
 115
- Buckle, William, 135
 Buckley, Robert, 106
 Budockshead, Roger, William, 120
 Burchett, J., 40
 Burgess, Sir John, 107
 Burke, Lady Dorothy, 132
 Burleigh, Lord, 5, 112, 113
 Burnell, H. H., 5, 8, 34
 Burnsall, David, Martha, 242-3
 Burr, George, 279
 Burrard, Mr., 21
 Burt, Thos., 111
 Burton, Sir Edmund, 18
 Butler, Edward, 204, 273-4
 — Francis, 187
 — Sir Oliver, 255
 — Robert, 255, 273-4
 Butt, Sir Wm., 46
 Butts, Flora, Henry, 255
- CADOGAN, Eliza, 84
 — Rev. W. B., 185, 194-7, 253
 — Charles, Second Baron, 195
 — George, Third Earl, 252
 Cage, Anthony, Elizabeth, Katherine,
 John, Martha, 162
 Cale, John, Judith, 233
 Calthorp, Sir H., 167
 Cambridge, J., 184
 Campbell, Thos., 172
 Campden, Viscount, 158
 Carberry, Lord, 215
 Carter, John, 18
 Cartwright, Wm., 294
 Cary, John, 144
 — Sir Henry, 294 (*see* Hunsdon)
 Caryll, John, 160
 Castlemaine, Wm., Viscount, 57
 Castlenaut, Marquis de, 156
 Caumont, Armond de, 156
 — Peter de, 155.
 Cavallier, John, 255, 291-2
 Cave, Henry, Richard, 294, 295
 Cavendish, Lady Jane, *see* Cheyne
 Cecil, Sir Edward, 24-8, 38, 116, 154
 — Sir Robert, 5, 55, 86, 112-14,
 122, 138, 296
 Chaloner, Edmund, 58
 Chamber, Henry, 16, 18
 — John, 302

- Chamberlain, Sir W., 284-5
 — John, 303
 Chamberlayne, Edward, 202, 256-63
 — family of, 256-63
 Champernowne, Frances, Sir Philip, 120
 Charles I., 86, 114, 115
 Charles II., 23, 42
 Charlotte, Queen, 35
 Chamber, Henry, 16, 18
 Chauncy, Sir Wm., 126
 Chelsey, Gemina, 296
 Cheyne, Charles, Lord, 11, 57-77, 193,
 279, 305
 — family of, 55-77
 — Lady Jane, 11, 57-77
 — William, Lord, 75-7, 269
 Christmas, Gerard, Matthew, John,
 166-7
 Churchill, Andrew, 255
 — Joseph, 208
 Churchman, J., 185
 Chute, Edward, 157
 Clarkson, Wm., 251
 Clarvee, Thos., 117
 Clement, Dr., Mrs., 103
 Clerk, Abraham, 199
 Clifford, Richard, 259
 — Susanna, 258-9
 Clinton, Sir Francis, 296. *See* Lincoln,
 Earl of
 Cokaine, Sir Wm., 136
 Coke, Sir Edward, 144
 Cole, Mr., 21
 Collie, Dorothy, 103
 Collins, Amy, 268
 Collyn, T., 187
 Colt, 97
 Colvile, Sarah, 165-6
 — Richard, 165
 Coney, Eliz., 295
 — Sir Thos., 296
 Conway, Lord, 158
 Cook, Francis, 269
 Coope, Richard, 275
 Cooter, Thos., 281
 Cope, Edward, 295
 — Henry, 297
 — Sir John, 203
 Coperario, J., 139
 Copley, Col., 175, 177
 Corbet, Richard, 56
 Cornbury, Viscount, 117, 151
 Cosyn, R., 185
 Cotton, John, 281; Lady, 302
 Cottrell, Sir L., 157
 — Col. John, Martha, 255
 Courtenay, family of, 199-202
 Cox, Edward, 48
 — James, 242
 Crane, 250
 Crane, 118
 Cranfield, Lionel, *see* Middlesex, Earl of
 Cratford, Christopher, 118, 254
 Crauford, David, John, 249
 Crecke, 307
 Cremorne, Viscount, 39, 252, 279
 Cresacre, Anne, John, 87
 Crespin, Ann, 248
 Crew, John, 181
 — Thomas, 6
 Crookenburg, 172
 Cugnac, Marquis de, 155
 Culliford, Anne, Catherine, Richard,
 234-5
 Cumberland, Duke of, 241
 Cumming, R. N., 100
 Cust, Lady Elizabeth, 123
 DACRE, Anne, Lady, 5, 107-12
 — Gregory, Lord, 5, 107-10
 Dale, Eliz., 162
 Damarr, Thomasin, 237
 Dameta, 1, 37
 Dandie, R., 185
 Dandulo, Rigep, 169
 Danvers, Anne, *see* Lee
 — Elizabeth, *see* Purbeck, Vis-
 countess
 — Magdalen, Lady, 140-3
 — Sir John, 28, 29, 38, 40, 125-6,
 136-52, 298
 Dauncy, Elizabeth, 87
 Dauntsey, Ambrose, 143
 Davenant, Sir Wm., 73
 Davies, Dean Rowland, 234
 — Rev. R. H., 5, 6, 14, 22, 112,
 189, 197, 232
 Day, Mr., 125
 Denny, Sir A., 48
 Dent, Wm., 180

- Derby, Earl of, 129
 Devonshire, Earl of, 38, 272
 Dickswell, Basil, 295, 296
 Diplock, T. B., 22
 Donne, John, 140-1
 Douglas, Anne, 295
 Dowell, J. B., 183
 Drake, Thos., 185
 Drax, Henry, 295
 Driver, John, 118
 Dudley, family of, 51-2. *See* North-
 umberland
 Duesbury, Wm., 242
 Dumas, Peter, 294
 Duncomb, Sir Wm., 296
 Dunk, Sir Thos., 214
 Durham, Wm., 192
 D'Urfe, Tom, 132
 Dyneley, Sir Robert, 295

 EDWARD the Confessor, 1, 37
 Edward VI., 49, 106
 Edwards, Geo., 81
 — Sydenham, T., 246-7
 Effingham, Wm., Lord of, 55-7
 Elderton, John, 248
 Eldridge, Wm., 19
 Elizabeth, Queen, 19, 42, 49, 53, 54,
 112, 276
 Ellesmere, Earl of, 57, 121
 Ellis, Sir W., 112
 Elphinston, Lord, 296
 Elsmere, Rev. Sloane, 12, 185
 England, Anna, 296
 English, Ann, Elizabeth, 172
 Erasmus, 87, 88, 99
 Ernie, Catherine, 25
 Essex, Earl of, 55, 152
 Evans, Thos., 278-280
 — family of, 280
 Evelyn, G., 295
 — John, 74
 Everdon, R., 184
 Eyre, Francis, Sarah, 255

 FARWELL, Thos., 187
 Faulkner, J., 100
 — Wm., 23
 Fawkener, Sir E., 241
 Fenn, Esther, 199

 Fenrother, Robert, Julian, Audrey,
 278, 302
 Ferrers, Lord, 297
 Few, Mr., 35
 Fideon, W., 185
 Firmin, Nathaniel, Ann, 249
 Fisher, John, 101
 — Robert, 17, 18
 — Thos., 275-6
 Fleeknoe, Richard, 73
 Fleetwood, Sir Wm., 57
 Fletcher, Elizabeth, Giles, John,
 Nehemiah, 277
 — Richard, 188, 276-7
 — (A servant), 31
 Flight, Bannister, Joseph, Thomas,
 6, 13
 Flood, Luke, 34
 Forbes, Lord, 294, 297
 Forest, Samuel, 254
 — Thos., 296
 Fowler, Matthias, 269
 — Mr., 126
 Foydon, J. de, 184
 Franklin, Eliz., Esther, Thos., 31,
 202, 248
 Frazer, Andrew, 118
 Freak, John, 266
 Freame, Philadelphia, Thos., 253
 Fulke, Samuel, 238
 Fuller, Thos., 143
 Fynes, Robert, 113

 GARDNER, Edmund, 4, 224, 282
 Garrick, David, 288-91
 Gervas, Abbot, 37, 44, 184
 Gervoise, *see* Jervoise
 Gibbon, Gervase, 163
 — Grissel, *see* Lawrence
 Gibbons, Christopher, 139
 Gilbank, Thos., 150
 Goddard, Francis, 295
 Godden, John, 115
 Godfrey, Francis, 296
 Goodwin, Mr., 282, 305
 Goodyear, Moses, 152; Mr., 22
 Gore, Katherine, 295
 — Susanna, 268
 Gorges, Ambrosia, 120-3
 — Arthur, 127-8

Gorges, Carew, 123-5
 — Douglas, Lady, 120, 122-3
 — Elizabeth, Lady, 126
 — Lady Elizabeth, 119, 125-6
 — Sir Arthur, 5, 38-9, 86, 111, 114,
 116-31, 154, 307
 — — junior, 126-7
 — Timoleon, 123-4
 — various, 123-7
 Goss, John, 35
 Gough, Luke, 35, 118
 — Thos., 35
 — Sir Henry, 30
 — Sir Richard, 217
 Grafton, Duke of, 116
 Grandison, Lord, 127
 Gray, Lord, 294
 Greaterake, Henry, 303
 Green, widow, 279
 Grevile, Bernard, 294
 Hon. Algernon, 116
 Grey, Lady Jane, 52
 Griffiths, Richard, 269
 Guildford, Abigail, Ann, Elizabeth,
 Frances, Charles, Judith, 231-2
 — Jane, *see* Northumberland,
 Duchess of
 — Richard, 192, 231-2
 — Sir Edward, 50
 — Sir Richard, 192, 231-2
 Guilford, Francis, 150, 157, 306
 Gulston, Eliz., 30, 274
 Gunnill, Joan, 48
 Gunning, Anne, 295
 — Peter, 169

HALLATT, Wm., 23
 Halliwell, Jane, 45
 Hambden, G., 185
 Hamey, Baldwin, 2, 19, 20, 31, 203-7
 Hampson, Mary, Sir Thos., 167
 Hamilton, Duke of, 41
 Hamilton, 39, 251
 Handford, C., 14, 30
 Harbarde, Walter, 17
 Harding, Rev. J., 100
 Harris, Mrs., 103
 — Thos., 296
 — Walter, 258
 Harrison, Geo., 23

Harrison, John, 118
 Hart, George, Wm., 133
 Harvest, John, 279
 Hastings, Lady, Mr., 170; Lord, 298
 Hatchett, Chas., 100, 252
 Hawle, Robert, 18
 Haynes, John, Mary, 255
 Haywood, Eliza, 157
 Heades, 162
 Hearne, J., 48, 281, 306
 — Thos., 85, 87
 Heath, Jas., 242; Mary, 307
 Hebbing, W., 185
 Heber, Reginald, 185
 Hele, de, Cecilia, Richard, Robert,
 44
 Henderson, George, 255
 Henessy, Rev. G., 184
 Henry VIII., 1, 2, 5, 6, 26, 37-9, 47,
 90, 184, 228, 279
 Herbert, Geo., 140
 — Lord, 140
 — Sir Henry, 294
 — Sir Richard, 140
 Hereman, John, 302
 Heron, Cicely, Giles, 87
 Hertford, Marquis of, 151
 Hervey, Augustus, 294
 Hewes, Grace, 143
 Heywood, Ellis, 89, 90
 Hickes, Dr., 77
 Hill, Edward, Jane, 251
 — Hester, 251
 — Thos., 274
 Hodges, 65
 Hodsden, Mary, 248
 Holbein, Hans, 7, 87
 Holborne, Nicholas (and others), 153-4
 Holford, Lady Frances, 296
 — Sir James, 297
 Hookes, Nicholas, 294
 Hooper, Wm., 42, 216
 Horne, H. P., 7, 137
 Horton, Catherine, 238
 Hosebound, 184
 Howard, Ann, Charles, Eliz., Francis,
 James, Margaret, Wm., 56-7
 — Chas., *see* Nottingham, Earl of
 — Douglas (Lady Gorges), 120,
 122-3

- Howard, Henry, Viscount Bindon, 120, 122-3
 — Wm., *see* Effingham, Lord
 Howell, James, Sarah, 255
 Hungerford, Thos., 17, 187, 226-30
 — Ursula, 226-30
 Hunsdon, Lord, 54
 Hunter, Rev. J., 87
 Huntingdon, Catherine, Countess of, 53
 — Henry, Earl of, 53
 — Theophilus, Earl of, 53, 279
 Hutchins, Matthew, 150
 Hynde, Lady Jane, 296
 Hynewyk, P., 184
- INGELARD, W., 185
- JACKSON, Joyce, 163
 James, John, 230
 Janaway, Thos., 20
 Jarvis, Jarvoys, *see* Jervoise
 Jeffreys, Lady, 158
 Jenkins, Captain, 273
 Jervoise, family of, 220-6
 — Richard, 49, 161, 220-6, 302
 Johnson, Israel, 23
 Jones, Constable, 282
 — John, 281
 — Lady Katherine, 30
- KENDER, Mr., 305
 Kennedy, Sir John, 297
 Keyle, Thos., 47, 49, 280, 302, 304
 Kildare, Earl and Countess of, 56
 Killigrew, Wm., 296
 Kilmorey, Viscount, 181
 King, Dr. John, 5, 6, 29, 185, 192-4, 266
 Kingsley, Henry, 152, 162
 Kingston, Duke of, 76
 Kinnard, Thos., 34
 Kip, 116, 119
 Knyff, Leonard, 116
 Kyllie, T., 187
 Kynaston, Sir F., 200
- LAGRAVE, 241
 Lambourne, Richard, 251
 Lane, Dudley, Dame, 48, 125
- Lane, Sir Robert, 125-6
 Lang, Ludar, 251
 Langford, John, 135
 Langley, Eliz., John, 78
 Larke, John, 96, 185-6
 Lawrence, Isaac, 169, 171
 — Rev. R. Gwynne, 160, 179
 — Sir John (1st Bart.), 24-8, 163-7
 — — (2nd Bart.), 99, 167-8
 — Sir Thomas (3rd Bart.), 5, 160, 172-82
 — Thomas (Goldsmith), 4, 161-5 (Secretary of Maryland), 175-7
 — various, 5, 24, 74, 75, 160-82
 Lawton, Charlwood, 255
 Le Blon, Christopher, 152
 Leddell, Sir Thos., 294
 Lee, Ann, Lady, 136, 144
 — Eleanor, *see* Abingdon, Countess of
 — Sir F. H., 136, 149
 — Sir H., 136
 Leighton, Jane, 230
 Lennox, Duchess of, 114, 115
 Lethbridge, Miss, 190
 Leverett, James, 281
 Lewer, Eliz., 248; Henry, 5, 13
 Lilly, W., 185
 Lincoln, Henry, 2nd Earl of, 5, 86, 113, 114, 119
 — Theophilus, Earl of, 125, 131, 137
 — Thomas, Earl of, 137
 Lindsey, Countess of, 136, 153, 157-8, 305
 — Montague, Earl of, 136, 148, 153-9
 — Robert, Earl of, 136, 156-8, 306
 Lisle, John, Wm., 115
 Littleton, Dr. Adam, 2, 11, 20, 22, 65, 69, 185, 190-4, 213, 272, 306
 Liveland, Clifford, 275
 Lockwood, Rev. J., 14, 100
 Lombe, Sir Thos., 274
 Long, Catherine, Thos., 256
 Lovelace, Dorothy, 295
 Lowfield, Ann, Thos., 250
 Lowndes, Thos., 199, 202
 Loworth, T., 185
 Lowther, Lady Eliz., 297; John, 295
 Lowthorp, John, 297
 Lowton, 162

Lucie, Ann, 199
 Ludlow, John, 256
 Lussan, Henry, 238-9
 Luttrell, family of, 218
 — Narcissus, 42, 215-8, 237
 Lyans, Thos., 18
 Lynde, Margery, 2, 3 2

MACARTNEY, George, 295
 Mackey, T., 185
 Mackie, John, 238
 Maddox, Oliver, 11
 Madge, Humphrey, 139
 Madgewicke, John, Lenyox, 280
 Mahon, Catherine, Thos., 249
 Mainey, Sir John, 296
 Malaspine, Marquis de, 297
 Man, Eustace, Richard, 179
 Manby, Mr., 43
 Manningham, Sir Richard, 151
 Mansell, Sir Edward, Thomas, 295
 Mardelay, J., 185
 Marriott, Robert, 23
 Mart, Wm., 203, 229, 278, 305
 Martyn, John, 82, 192
 — Thos., 238
 Mason, Robert, 269
 Massanger, W., 185
 Massingberd, Mary, 137
 Masters, Ann, 135; Richard, 138
 Mayerne, Adriana, 155; Elizabeth,
 155-6, 297
 — Sir Theodore, 115, 153, 155-6,
 298, 307
 Maynard, Banaster, 294
 Mazarine, Duchess of, 287
 Meadows, Sir Philip, 294
 Medewe, G., 185
 Methuen, Mrs., 255
 Mewtes, John, 37, 38
 Middlesex, Earl of, 86, 114-5, 151
 Middleton, Edward, 104, 106
 — John, 97
 Milbourne, Clayton, 255
 Mill, W., 185
 Millar, Andrew, 34
 Millard, Richard, 23
 Miller, Chas., 257, 266
 — Philip, 264-6
 Milles, Tobias, 296

Milman, family of, 132-5
 — Sir Francis, 133
 — Sir William, 6, 40, 132-5
 Minheire, H., 132, 134
 Mokynton, R., 184
 Moncrieff, Wm., 255, 256
 Monmouth, Duchesse of, 23
 — Duke of, 146
 Monson, Sir John, 76
 — Henry, 76
 — Sir Wm., 28, 57
 Montpolion, Marquis de, 156
 Moore, W., 146
 Moray, Earl of, 55
 Mordaunt, Lord, Mary, 295
 More, Cresacre, 86
 — Margaret, *see* Roper
 — Sir John, 87
 — Sir Thomas, 2, 5, 6, 8, 14, 85-
 105, 136-7, 152, 222
 Morgan, Lady, Sir Lewis, Thomas,
 Sir Charles, 76
 — Richard, Wm., 131-2
 Morley, Geo., 10, 76
 Morris, John, 282
 — Rev. J., 101
 Mortimer, John, 50
 — Dr., 78
 Morton, Sir George, 149
 Mossop, Henry, 287-91
 Motte, David de la, 199
 Moulsh, M. de, 184
 Mount, 135
 Mullins, J., 100
 Munden, family of, 267-70
 — Sir John, 267-70
 — William, 202
 Myers, Richard, Mat, 185-7

 NAUNTON, Sir Robert, 51
 Needham, Francis, 5, 181
 Neild, J. C., 100
 Neve, Wm., 154
 Newcastle, Duke of, 57, 68
 Newdick, J., 229, 305
 Newhaven, Viscount, *see* Cheyne, Chas.
 Newman, Richard, 156
 — Thos., 295
 Newport, Sir Richard, 140
 — Thos., 295

- Nicholas IV., Pope, 1
 Nichols, F. M., 7; Joseph, 305
 Norbury, Sir John, 45
 Norcliffe, Frances, 297
 Norfolk, Duke of, 91, 120
 Norris, John, 286
 — Lord, *see* Abingdon, Earl of
 North, Dudley, 295
 — Roger, 157; Sir Francis, 157
 Northampton, Marchioness of, 120
 Northumberland, Duchess of, 8, 49-53
 — Duke of, 49-53, 161
 Norton, John, 302
 Nottingham, Catherine, Countess of,
 54, 55
 — Charles, Earl of, 54-7, 188
 — Margaret, Countess of, 28, 29,
 55, 56, 57
 Nuport, W., 12
- ODER, John, 282
 Offley, Crew, 5, 160, 181-2
 — John, 5, 181-2, 242
 — Margaret, 160, 181-2
 Ogle, Henry, Earl of, 74
 Oldom, Hugh, 85
 Olyver, John, 2
 Orkney, Lord, 56
 Ormonde, Duchess of, 274
 Orum, R., 184
 Osborne, Dorothy, 297
 Overbury, Sir Thos., 56
 Oyles, Jacques, 204
- PAGE, Edward, 296
 Paginton, Sir John, 302
 Paieton, Dorothy, 295
 Palmer, Elizabeth, 206-14
 — Ralph (senior), 20, 31, 206-9
 — (junior), 2, 204-5, 215
 — William, 184
 — various, 206-14
 Parr, Queen Catherine, 48, 302
 Paton, Sir Thos., 294
 Pattison (or Pattenson), Henry, 92
 — S., 254, 303
 Pawlet, *see* Winchester
 Pearce, Sir George, 296-7
 — Zachary, 82
 Pearsall, John, 231
- Penn, Wm., 279
 Pennant, John, David, Thomas, 270
 — Rev. John, 185
 Pepys, Samuel, 145-6, 169
 Percival, Richard, 113
 Percy, G., 185
 Periam, Jane, 295
 Persival, Lady Katherine, 296
 Peryn, Father, 301
 Peshall, Humphrey, John, Lawrence,
 230-1
 Peterborough, Earl and Countess of, 56
 Petyt, Wm., 188-9
 Peyton, Dorothy, 294-5
 — Sir Y., 275
 Phelps, Ann, Samuel, 263
 Philip, Mr., 112
 Pierpoint, Gertrude, Wm., 76
 Plowman, George, 23
 Plucknet, George, 306
 Plummer, Jas., 86, 115
 Plunkett, Christopher, 296
 Plymouth, Countess of, 153, 158
 Poina, Thomas, 295
 Pope, Sir Thos., 136; Elizabeth, 157
 Porter, Henry, 241-2
 Portsmouth, Duchess of, 146
 Potts, Ann, 295
 Powell, Anna, 251
 — Edmund, John, 275-6
 — Eliz., Henry, 244
 — Sir Edward, 38, 40, 275, 277
 — Sir Wm., 275
 Preston, Thomas de, 184; Elizabeth,
 306
 Priest, Josias, 131-2, 214
 — family of, 131-2
 Pritchard, Thos., 128, 131
 Proctor, James, 185
 Purbeck, Viscountess, 136-7, 144
 Purcell, Henry, 132
 Purchas, Samuel, 122
 Putland, Thos., 247
- QUARLES, Katherine, 295
- RADNOR, Earl of, 41, 57, 76, 145-8,
 150
 — Lætitia, Countess of, 29, 57, 76,
 145-6

Radnor, Sarah, Countess of, 146
 Raggi, Antonio, 64
 Raleigh, Sir Carew, 120
 — Sir Walter, 120, 122, 293
 Ramsay, Capt. John, 296
 Raper, Henry, Katherine, 239
 Ray, John, Nicholas, 247
 Reeves, Wm., 22
 Reid, Alexander, 255
 Rhodes, Christopher, Joanna, 255
 Richards, Dr. John, 294, 296; E. W.,
 22; Wm., 214
 Richardson, Robert, 16, 185-6
 — Wm., 157
 Robartes family, 145-8
 Robinson, Pilkington, 135
 Rochester, Countess of, 136, 144, 149
 — Earl of, 128, 136, 148-9
 Rodes, Sir John, 294
 Rogers, Eliz., Humphrey, 233
 Rolls, John, 35
 Roper, Margaret, 85-105, 137
 — Wm., 47, 85-105, 137
 Rose, Fulke, 78
 — Margaret, Cornelius, 247
 Rowsan, Peter, 156
 Ruberry, John, 275
 Rugworth, Mr., 75
 Rush, Rev. J., 197
 — Wm., 255
 Rutland, Duchess of, 158
 Rye, Walter, 160, 162

 SACKVILLE, Ann, *see* Dacre, Lady
 — Sir Robert, 107
 Salisbury, Marquis of, 113
 Salter, Lady, 166
 Saltero, Don, 217
 Samon, Mr., 230
 Sanders, J., 306
 Sandes, Wm. Lord, 37, 45, 47, 184, 302
 Saunders, Thos., 17
 Scarborough, 185-6
 Scheuchzer, J. G., 83
 Septem Fontibus, Ralph, Laurence,
 Thomas, 44
 Seymour, Jane, 47
 — Sir Thos., 48
 — Thos., 106
 Shadwell, Sir J., 78, 284

Shadwell, Thos., 282-4
 Shaftesbury, Earl of, 198, 203, 215
 Shalers, 185-6
 Sharp, Ann, Dr. John, 294
 Shelly, John, 16, 17, 18, 187
 Shordych, George, John, Matilda,
 Robert, 44-5
 Shrewsbury, Earl of, 37, 55, 272, 299
 Shuckburgh, Thos., 29, 138, 150
 Sidney, Sir Henry, Sir Philip, 53
 Simmons, Edward, 23
 Simpkin, Elizabeth, Thos., 256
 Skinner, Ann, 235-6
 Skipwith, Fullar, 295
 Sloane, Sir Hans, 33, 34, 38, 42, 77-
 84, 116, 278, 293
 — Wm., 149, 150, 151-2; Elizabeth,
 195
 Smith, Albert, 268
 — Bartholomew, Lucy, 250
 — Edward, 117, 154, 157
 — Lady, 199
 — Lucy, 243
 — Mary Agnes, 255
 — Sir James, 199-203
 — Sir John, 76 4
 Smyth, Richard, 266
 Smythe, Thos., 18
 Snell, John, 156
 Somerset, Duchess of, 53
 — Lady Henrietta, Lady Mary, 116
 Southwell, Lady, Maria, Sir Robert,
 56
 Spencer, Lady Margaret, 297
 Spenser, Edmund, 120-1
 Spragg, John, 262
 Sprimont, Nicholas, 240-3
 Squire, Matthew, 250
 Stafford, Ann, Hugh, 245
 Stallwood, Benj., 149, 150
 St. Albans, Reginald de, 2, 184
 St. John, Ann, 55
 — Lord, of Bletsoe, 55
 — Sir Walter, 144
 — Sir John, 136, 149
 Stanhope, Chas., Eliz., Lady, 54
 — John, Lord, 53, 54
 — Sir Edward, 53
 Stanley, Edward, 245
 — family of, 128-31

- Stanley, Sarah, 84
 — Sir Robert, 8, 38, 39, 125, 128-31
 — William, 83
 Stanton, Mary Hall, 255
 Stapylton (Stapleton), 6, 103, 293, 295, 296
 Staundone, Sir R. de, 184, 186
 Staunton, Rev. Edward, 250
 Stevens, 247
 Stewart, Eliz., Thomasin, 237-8
 — James, Earl of Moray, 55
 — John, Lord of Orkney, 56
 — Lady Margaret, 55
 — Thos., 12
 Stone, Nicholas, 138-9, 295
 Strode, 115
 Sturges, Rev., 13, 185
 Surrey, Mr., 219
 Sutton, Dawley, 251
 Swift, Jonathan, 42, 278
 Symonds, Penelope, Thomas, 27
 Sympson, Bernard, 303-4

 TATE, Mr., 274
 — Nahum, 132
 Taylor, Jeremy, 74
 — Silvanus, 134
 Temple, Sir William, 297
 Thomas, Edmond, Eliz., Wm., 76
 — Francis, 239-43
 — Robert, 118
 Thorold, Dr., 202
 Thurstan, 37
 Tilford, Thos., 254
 Tomline, George, 30
 Townsend, Mary, Sir John, 293
 Tracy, Hon. Robert, 294
 Trelawny, Sir Jonathan, 34
 Trevanion, Margaret, 295
 Trevor, John, 295
 Tristram, Dr., 275
 Tubbatt, Benjamin, 118
 Tuckfurthe, R., 187
 Tullock, W. J., 255
 Tully, John, 275
 Tunstall, Cuthbert, 95
 — Robert, 185
 Turner, Eliz., Thos., 248
 Tyndale, Elizabeth, Thos., 263

 UGHTRED, Henry, 107

 VANLORE, Lady, Sir Peter, 277
 Vaughan, 133-4
 — Elizabeth, 268
 — Francis, 269
 Vavasour, Olivia, 297
 Verney, John, 207-14
 — Lady, 144, 207, 214
 — Sir Edmund, 207
 — Sir Ralph, 144-5
 Verren, Thos., 23
 Villiers, John, 144
 — Sir Wm., 295

 WADE, Bryan, 202, 249, 275
 Wakelin, Mr. Ann, Thos., 251
 Walesby, W., 185
 Walford, W., 135
 Waller, Edmund, 148-9
 Walton, Isaak, 140-1
 Ward, Richard, 185, 187-8
 Warmstry, Dr., 169
 Warr, Lord de la, 50
 Washington, Lady, Sir William, 115
 Waver, Christina, Sir Henry, 220
 Way, Joseph, 35
 Weever, John, 37, 46, 96
 Wellesley, Hon. G. V., 185
 Wellman, Anthony, 20
 Welwyn, John, 295
 Wentworth, Sir George, 294
 Westerland, Adrian, 118
 Wharton, Ann, Lady, 136, 140, 148-9
 — Thos., Lord, 136, 140, 148, 151, 305-6
 Whasse, John, 302
 White, Henry, 37, 39, 49, 278, 303
 — Robert, 49, 278
 — William, 302
 Whitehand, Wm., 119
 Whitelocke, Sir B., Frances, 115
 Widdrington, Lord, 131
 Wilde, Peter de, 198
 Wilkins, Wm., 302
 Wilkinson, Rev. S., 75, 185
 Williams, Ann, Elizabeth, Sir John Mary, 275
 — Mary Emilia, 255, 290

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Williams, Rev. D., 255, 290-1
 Williamson, 135
 Willis, Isabella, 297
 Wilton, John, 83, 84, 243
 — family of, 243-4
 Wimbledon, Viscount, <i>see</i> Cecil, Sir Edward
 Winchester, 1st Marquis of, 5, 34, 41, 47, 106-7, 303-4
 — 2nd Marquis of, 5, 107
 — 3rd Marquis of, 107
 — Winifred, Marchioness of, 53, 107
 Windham, Sir Francis, 297
 Windsor, Lord, 158
 Winkfield, Eliz., 296
 Winstanley, 74
 Withing, Mary, 295
 Wollaston, 305</p> | <p>Woodcock, Robert, 29, 236, 266-7, 273, 305
 Woodcock, family of, 266-7
 Woodfall, Henry S., 256
 Worcester, Marquis of, 115
 Worster, James, 23
 Wray, Bridget, Edward, 136
 Wright, J., 184
 Wriothesly, 47
 Wybarnd, John, 251
 Wych, Jermyn, 274
 Wymondsol, Mr., 202
 Wynne, family of, 217-8
 — Rev. Luttrell, 218</p> <p>YATES, 145
 York, Duke of, 146
 Young, Thomas, 227</p> |
|---|--|



3 2044 013 654 165



